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विषय संख्या .... आगत नं० ....
लेखक Deb, Achintya Kumar
शीर्षक Bhakti Movement
in Orissa

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THE BHAKTI MOVEMENT IN ORISSA

—A Comprehensive History—

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पुस्तकालय
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ORISSA STUDIES PROJECT NO. 18

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—A Comprehensive History—

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पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

ACHINTYA KUMAR DEB

M.A. (Double), Ph.D, Dip. Lib. Sc.

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To the sacred memory
of my Father
Late Akshay Kumar Deb

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पुस्तकालय
पुस्तकालय
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

PREFACE

The tradition of Bhakti Movement in India is very old. Historical evidences put it in the 3rd century A.D. Śrīmadbhāgavatagītā and Bhāgavatapurāṇa popularised it so much that the other religious cults of India like Buddhism and Jainism were subsequently influenced by it and occupied the mind of the people. Prior to sixteenth century we have seen that Bhakti movement pervaded all corner of the country and influenced all other religious movements. Like other religious movements it has also produced literatures of various forms and moulded all the people irrespective of their caste, creed and status. Orissa and Bengal were not away from its influence. Vaiṣṇavism was gaining ground in Orissa even before Śrīchaitanya's arrival. It started changing the religious thinking of people so much that even in His life time Śrīchaitanya regarded as the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa in both Orissa and Bengal. The influence of Śrīchaitanya was so much on the people of Orissa and Bengal that after His death, His life and teachings were perennial source for writing *Kāvyas, purāṇas* and songs of different forms.

In order to study Śrīchaitanya's influence on Orissa and Bengal, we have divided the present thesis into nine Chapters.

In the First Chapter we have tried to discuss the historical development of bhakti cult from Vedic age upto Sixteenth Century A.D. and we have seen how the different concepts of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa-Gopāla have been assimilated with each other, and have prepared a solid ground to develop the bhakti movement, and have influenced in both adjoining provinces, Bengal and Orissa.

The Second Chapter deals with the socio-religious background of Bhakti Movement and also political impact which in course of time has helped to strengthen the foundation of bhakti cult in Orissa. The role of kings, queens, and of the religious leaders has also been taken into consideration.

Similarly in the Third Chapter we have portrayed socio-religious picture of Bengal and the impact of Muslim influence on society and literature.

In the Fourth Chapter, we have given a short biography of Śrīchaitanyadev and his influences on Orissa and Bengal.

The Fifth Chapter deals with the important followers of Śrīchaitanya in Orissa and their activities and the impact of his teachings and preachings on Oriya literature. This Chapter has been divided into three sub-sections. In the first section we have enumerated the names of some followers who have no other identifications except their names. In the second and in the third sections we have tried to give detailed informations available about Vaiṣṇava poets of the period.

In the Sixth Chapter we have followed the line of the Fifth Chapter to give the accounts of Vaiṣṇava poets in Bengal.

In the Seventh Chapter, we have tried to place the position of Śrīchaitanya in the Orissan Vaiṣṇavism and his influence on other cults of the period like Jñāna-bhakti and Yoga-bhakti.

The Chapter Eight shows the later development of Śrīchaitanya's philosophy in the hands of Vaiṣṇava thinkers and its culmination in *Kṛṣṇabhakti* and lastly in prīti.

In the Chapter Nine, we have tried to show the similarities and dissimilarities between Orissan and Bengali Vaiṣṇavas of 16th century.

In the concluding lines we have given the findings of our study in a nutshell.

The author desires to express his deep sense of gratitude and sincere regard to Dr. K. C. Sahoo, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Oriya, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, for his sustained enthusiastic interest, ever willing help, valuable guidance and constructive inspiration in the conduct of the present study. It is because of his constant encouragement and active interest that the work could ultimately be completed.

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Chapter One

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF VAISṆAVISM UPTO 16TH CENTURY A.D.

India is a multi-religious country. The Hindus, the Muslims, the Buddhists, and the Jainas all enjoy their mode of religious life independently. All her religions are inextricably fused with its social and cultural patterns. They suggest moral codes and man's social behaviour. One of the most distinct sects among the Hindus is Vaiṣṇavism. It has its own tenets and beliefs. Those who follow Vaiṣṇavism are known as Vaiṣṇavas.

Vaiṣṇavism believes in one God only and that is Viṣṇu who is known variously as Nārāyaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. In the Vedas Viṣṇu is described as one of the manifestations of the sun. He envelopes the earth on every side with rays of light (mayakhaih).[1] He is sometimes mentioned along with the Ādityas[2] and is reckoned later as one of them. He represents sun in its daily and yearly course.[3] He is also famous for his three strides and for his *paramapāda* ; he strode three steps over the universe, thereby maintaining fixed ordinances—(dharmāṇī).[4] Two of the steps can be seen on the earth and the sky but the third one is known as *paramapāda* which is known only to himself and visible only to *Suris* or the sages. This step is described as the perennial stream of eternal bliss (Madhura Ānanda Rasa). In the Ṛgvedic verse, Viṣṇu is called the germ of Ṛta, Ṛtasya garbham[5]—where Ṛta means moral order of sacrifice. He is also honoured as Indra as a leader in the battle. Both of them were looked upon as masters of the world. In some hymns of the Ṛgveda, Viṣṇu is described as a worthy friend of Indra—'Indrasya yujyah sakhā'. He strode his three steps by the energy of Indra.[6]

In the later vedic literature, the position of Viṣṇu became more prominent. Śatapathabrāhmaṇa identifies him with sacrifice. He is endowed with such names as Yajña, Yajñavāyava, Yajñeśwara, Yajñapuruṣa. According to Aitariya Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇu averts the evil consequences of the defects in sacrifice while Varuṇa protects the fruits of its successful performances. The same work regards Agni and Viṣṇu as the dikshāpālas or guardians of initiation. In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, Taittariya Āranyaka and Panchavimsabrāhmaṇa 'Viṣṇu is described as the most excellent of the gods'. The same position was held by Viṣṇu in the Aitariya Brāhmaṇa. He has occupied the highest place among the gods. In the Maitreya Upaniṣad[7] the food which sustains the Universe is called Bhāgavata, while in the Kathaupaniṣad[8] the progress of the human soul is compared to a journey, the goal of which is the Viṣṇu's paramapāda, the home of eternal bliss. Thus it claims that Viṣṇu was often regarded as the greatest god and spiritual interpretation had been offered for the names. Another important deity that we find in the temple of Vaiṣṇavas (Vaiṣṇavism) is Nārāyaṇa. Nārāyaṇa is considered as unborn and his naval is the source of the world. The world is the abode of all gods. The word Nārāyaṇa can be found in many places of the Vedic literature.

Ṛgveda tells us that before the birth of sky, earth and gods, the universe was full of water in which all gods live and everyone of them is source of a particular energy. The various objects stand on the naval of unborn in which all creatures dwell. This unborn is considered at first as the Brahmā or the creator of this world ; Nārāyaṇa is regarded as the 'Ayana'—*final desire* of nara (man) and gods.

Puruṣasukta of Ṛgveda describes Nārāyaṇa as equally great as 'puruṣa-nārāyaṇa'. He is also considered as the author of 'Puruṣasukta' and hero of Sukta is called Viṣayapuruṣa ; then it can be said that the words puruṣa and Nārāyaṇa are identical. Śatapathabrāhmaṇa and Taittiriya Āranyaka show that Nārāyaṇa is worshipped as the greatest God and regarded as equal to paramātmā. Taittiriya Āranyaka identifies Nārāyaṇa with Hari.

In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa, it is said that Nārāyaṇa at the time of performing Yajña sent other gods to different places, finally he himself performed all the works of sacrifice and became almighty and all pervading. In other places we find that 'puruṣanārāyaṇa' after performing pāñcharātra festival, became almighty.

Afterwards, we see that the epithets like Hari, Keśava, Vāsudeva, Vṛṣṇipati, Vṛṣava, Ṛṣava, Vaikunṭha which were used primarily for Indra were later on transferred to Viṣṇu. Gradually, until the names reached the stage of 'paramātmādeva' there came other words like Chakrapāni, Kṛṣṇa during the later Vedic period.

Viṣṇu and Nārāyaṇa-Kṛṣṇa is an important deity of the Vaiṣṇavas. We find the word Kṛṣṇa for the first time in the Ṛgveda (mandala 8) where he is described as a sage, the author of 'Sukta' and in third and fourth mantra he declares himself Kṛṣṇa.[9] Thereafter we can find that the author of Anukramani says that Kṛṣṇa belonged to Angirasha lineage. There is another reference in the Chhāndogya Upaniṣada[10] in which Kṛṣṇa is described as the son of Devaki, and as the disciple of Ghorā Angirasha. In the Upa. Kṛṣṇa is addressed as Achyuta. But Kouseteki Brāhmaṇa says that Kṛṣṇa-Angirasha, the author of Sukta and the disciple of Ghorā-Angirasha and Kṛṣṇa were the same person.[11] If Kṛṣṇa and Ghorā were of the Angirasha family, then it can be said that the idea of Kṛṣṇa as a sage was popular from the time of Ṛgveda to the Upaniṣadic age and there was a gotra in the name of Kārshāyana which originated the Krishna concept. Śrīmadbhāgavatgitā also describes Kṛṣṇa as Achyuta. In the Mahābhārata, we have many references of Kṛṣṇa. The epic refers to the joint worship of Arjuna and Vāsudeva, who were, in their previous birth, the sage or god nara and nārāyaṇa.[12] In the vedic literature such as Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣadas we do not find any reference to

Vāsudeva. But in the 10th Chapter of the Taittiriya Āranyaka we can see the word 'Nārāyaṇaya Vidmahe, Vāsudevaya dhimahi tanno Viṣṇuḥ prochodayāth'—where Vāsudeva is regarded along with Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu. In later times Vāsudeva element was added to Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa was known as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. In course of time Vāsudeva found his place in the lineage of Vṛṣṇi. In this regard Buddhist books like Ghata Jātaka and Ummaga Jātaka refer Vāsudeva as person and Kṛṣṇa as a gotra. Ghata Jātaka also describes Vāsudeva as a descendant of a royal family living in the northern part of Mathurā.[13] The family was ruined because it disregarded Kānha Dwaipāyana. This fact was also supported by Koutilya in his Arthasāstra.

Indologists like R. L. Mitra, Keith and others view that by the 3rd century B.C. with the composition of Āranyaka the assimilation of Vāsudeva with Nārāyaṇa and Viṣṇu was complete. In the Mahābhārata we are told the meaning of the word Vāsudeva : Vasanatsarvabhutanām Vasutladdevayonita Sasudevastato baidyah—Mbh. 5.70.30. Chhadayāmi Jagaddiswam bhuttwa Suryaibamśubhiḥ Sarvabhutwādhibasascha Vāsudevastato-hayoham. "I am Vāsudeva because I cover the world with illusion or light."

We also see that in the Mahābhārata Vāsudeva is called the son of Vasudeva. In the Vismaparva we can see the episode of Yādava clan in which Vāsudeva has appeared in the name of Saṅkarsana. In the 66th Chapter of the same parva we have seen the various uses of Vāsudeva. In the Śrīmadbhāgavatgītā there is a line, "I am Vāsudeva among the Vṛṣñi-Vṛṣñinam Vāsudevosmi (Gita-10.77).

Pāṇini next clarifies in his Astādhyāyī the presence of the word Vāsudevaka i.e. worshippers of Vāsudeva. Patañjali in his commentary of Astādhyāyī distinctly states that the word Vāsudeva contained in the sutra, is the name of the worshipful i.e. God. So it can be easily presumed that Vāsudeva whose worship was prevalent during the time of Pāṇini (ca. 6th century B.C.) must have been placed before the advent of Pāṇini. R. G. Bhāndārkar has expressed that Sātvata race developed a system of religion that took up the ideas of a supreme god in Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa[14] and devotion to him as a mode of salvation. He has also emphasised that Vāsudeva was the founder of the Bhakti-cult and he was also related with other three names Saṅkarsana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.[15]

Patañjali in his commentary tells us that Vāsudeva and Baladeva are two Vṛṣñi names The Chullaniddesa and Mahāneddesa, the books of Pāli canon also refer to Vāsudevatika and Baladevatika, i.e., worshipper of Vāsudeva and Baladeva. In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa we can see the word Vārsneya from which the historicity of Vṛṣṇi clan can be traced. In the Ādiparva of Mahābhārata Vāsudeva was named Sātvata. In Viṣṇupurāṇa we can find the reference of .Vṛṣni clan were known as Yādava. In this connection we can cite the reference of Kroustu, son of Yadu, in Viṣṇupurāna. P. Chaturvedi is inclined to identify him with Kṛṣṇa.

In spite of all these references to Vāsudeva and Kṛṣṇa, it is quite difficult to find out one definite reference to the identification.

The other important god in the Vaiṣṇava sect is Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.[16] According to R. G. Bhāndārkar there is no such authentic work before the 1st Century B.C. in which we can find the reference to Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. But after the Christian era, we come across a number of references to Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. Dr. Bhāndārkar suggests that a nomadic tribe, namely Āhira came to Mathurā from central Asia. They are mainly cow-herds and they were worshipping a boy-god. At about 2nd Century B.C. he was identified as Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.

Though it is difficult to describe the process of assimilation, yet according to Dr. R. G. Bhāndārkar the amalgamation of these three elements Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa produced the creed of Bhakti (called Bhāgavatism and later on Vaiṣṇavism) and added a fourth element, Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa.[17]

With the amalgamation of the above deities like Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa the Vaiṣṇavism has started its real course. Though, in its earlier stages, it was a particular theistic religion, later on obtained a universal character. The word 'Vaiṣṇava' occurs for the first time in the svargārohanaparva of the Mahābhārata but authors believe that it is an interpolated passage of the same. We can find the appearance of the word as a sectarian term for the first time in the coins and inscription of the Traikutaka kings in the 5th century A.D.[18] There, in the epic age, words like Bhāgavata, Pāñcharātra, Aikāntika, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva and Sātvata were prevalent for the worshippers of Bhāgavata. There is an idea that he who dwells upon all and all who exist in one is called Vāsudeva and those who worship Vāsudeva are known as Bhāgavata.[19] Padmatantra provides the synonyms of the word Bhāgavata as Suri, Suhrid, Sātvata, Pāñchakalavit, Ekāntika and Pāñcharatrika.[20] Of these only four are mentioned in the Nārāyaṇiya section of Śāntiparva and Viswapākhyana section of the Vismaparva of the Mahābhārata. It is said that Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was a sātvata-Vṛṣṇi hero, its earlier nomenclature being Pāñcharātra, Ekāntika, Sātvata and Bhāgavata.

The devotion to and worship of a personal god out of which Bhāgavatism springs forth can be found in the Astādhyāyī of Pāṇini (Ca. 5th century B.C.) which offers the word Vāsudevaka in the sense of a person whose object of worship is Vāsudeva. Another earliest reference to this are the statements of Megāsthenes and Q. Curtius who stated that the Sourasenai (Sourasena, i.e. people of modern Mathurā region) held Heracles (Hercules) in special honour. It is said that Heracles was the Greek analogue of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa.[21]

However, in order to prove the validity of Vaiṣṇavism which was prevalent also during the pre-Christian era, we have to depend upon historical evidences. Among them epigraphical records are the principal sources. The inscriptions discovered here and there bear the facts of truth of existence. The Besnagar, Nāgari or Ghosundi and Nānāghāt inscriptions prove that Bhāgavata (Bhakti) school existed long before the beginning of the Christian era.[22] At Besnagar, the Gaḍura pillar[23] inscription refers to a Greek convoy, Heleodorous, ambassador of Antialcidas, as a devotee of Vāsudeva. The Ghosundi stone inscription of the same age suggests further development of the Vāsudeva cult. These inscriptions say that the Bhāgavata sect existed in the 2nd century B.C. and that the object of worship was Vāsudeva. Some later inscriptions also prove the existence of Vāsudeva and Bhāgavata temples in various parts of India like Vidisā, Mathurā etc. The Besnagar group of inscriptions suggest that excellent Bhāgavata shrines had been constructed during the pre-Christian period with the object of worshipping Vāsudeva.

The Nāgari inscription[24] of Ca. 2nd century B.C. the Pobbhosa[25], Nānāghāt[26] and Morā Well inscription are more or less Bhāgavata in character.

The Mathurā stone inscription[27], Burhikhar Viṣṇu image inscription[28] of Ca. 1st century B.C. also prove the existence of Vaiṣṇavism during pre-Christian times. During the Saka-Kusāna dynasty Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was worshipped throughout the country. In the Nānāghāt[29] inscription we can see the names of Saṅkarsana and Vāsudeva (Namo Saṅkarsana Vāsudevanam) along with the names of other deities. The Hāthibada inscription[30] of the 1st century reveals that Saṅkarsana and Vāsudeva were still worshipped as popular deities but later the worship of Saṅkarsana discontinued and Vāsudeva alone remained as the object of worship. The Balarām image[31] of Sunga period (2nd century B.C.) preserved in the Lucknow Museum, a tribal coin of Ālmora bearing the name Haridatta, silver coins of Mahādeva who belonged to Adombara family of Kanauja bear the name of Vāsudeva. During this century, in Pātaliputra and its neighbourhood, Kṛṣṇa in the name of Gopāla had been worshipped. India during Sunga and pre-Gupta period, although was composed of many independent states, followed Vaiṣṇava religion,

The area covered by the cult of Vāsudeva as a living religion includes part of modern Gowalior state, Chitorgarh in Rājputanā, Mathurā and surroundings of Beas valley or the modern district of Kāngrā, Gurudāspur and Hosiārpur, Pāñcala, some parts of Bihar including Pātaliputra, modern Bombay state including Nāsik under the sovereignty of the Andhras.[32] The worshipping of this cult is confirmed by the stone inscription found in Kṛṣṇā district belonging to the region of Goutamiputra Yājñaski Sātakarnī. The reading stands as "*Siddham Namo Bhāgavato Vāsudevāya*".

It is clear from above the Bhāgavatism made it entrance into the considerable number of home during the Saka-Kusāna era. This popular religious system went on influencing the Hindus and later on got fused with Vaiṣṇavism. The influence was so strong that one of the powerful kings of the Kusāna dynasty was named Vāsudeva. Bhāgavatism under the royal nursing of Imperial Guptas developed into one of the most important branches of Brāhmanical religious system. The imprint of Vaiṣṇavism (then commonly known as Bhāgavatism) in India reached the peak of its growth and development as a cult of Bhakti during the period of Gupta dynasty. The 'Imperial Guptas' were profound devotees of Viṣṇu, very tolerant and generous in their dealing with various religious sects of the time and their personal inclination were towards Vaiṣṇavism and as a matter of fact almost all of them devoted to the cult of Vāsudeva.[33]

During this period, Vaiṣṇavism was an important aspect of Brāhmanical religion. With the rise of the power of the Guptas, Bhāgavatism came to foreground and spread over almost all the parts of the country. Some of the kings were great patrons of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. During this period not only the kings but also other royal families assumed the epithet *paramabhāgavata* and *paramavaiṣṇava*. The geographical orbit of Vaiṣṇavism spread remarkably on all sides. There are ample number of epigraphic records connected with this cult in almost all the states of India e.g. Udayagiri at Besnagar, Gāndhar and Erān in M.P., Junāgarh in Gujrāt, Nāsik in Mahārāstra, Āihole in Mysore, Bebbli in A.P., Allāhabād, Bilsād, Karmadānda, Deogar, Bhitergoan in U.P., Basarh and other places in Bihar, Dāmodarpur, Dhanāidaha, Baigrām Faridpur, Pāhārpur, and Gunāigarh in Bengal. These are places which bear distinct evidence to prove that Vaiṣṇavism made a notable progress during the Gupta region.[34] The Tusān Rock Inscription of Ca. 4th century A.D. reveals an adoration of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu). The Khoh copper plate inscription of Sarvanātha throws some light on close relation between Bhāgavata and solar worship. It also points out that the same person constructed two shrines—one dedicated to Bhagavān and the other Āditya Bhattaraka (Surya). The second Gupta emperor, Samudragupta was a Vaiṣṇava. Later Guptas are also Vaiṣṇavas. Kumārgupta used coins which contain the figure of *gaḍura* with wings. There is a pillar or Dhwaja on the Viṣṇupāda hill erected out of deep regard for Viṣṇu by Chandragupta II. Chandragupta II also issued Chakravikrama type of coins. Later the temples of god of Viṣṇu was built by Chakrapālita. Vaiṣṇavism found its easy way throughout the Gupta era. The Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II which refers to Viṣṇudas (i.e. slave of Viṣṇu).

Like Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, the most important incarnation of Viṣṇu, was popular, and he was also conceived as Chakravrit and was worshipped under the name Chakraswāmin. Chandragupta II son of Samudragupta, was a devout worshipper of Vāsudeva. His coins reveal a figure of gaḍura without stretched wings. He issued 'Chakravikrama' type of coins. He was styled as 'paramabhāgavata' on his coins as also in the inscriptions of his son and grand-son, Kumārgupta and Skandagupta respectively. These types of coins issued by Chandragupta II are very interesting because they prove decisively the learnings of the king towards Vaiṣṇavism. Another inscription discovered of Meherāndi near Delhi records that a pillar in honour of his '*Istadevatā*' had been raised on the Viṣṇupāda hill by this illustrious king. They tried in popularising Vaiṣṇavism establishing relation with the Saiva Vakātaka king

Rudrasena II by allowing his marriage with his daughter, Prabhābatigupta. Gradually the Vākātakas were converted to Vaiṣṇavism as a result of the bridal relation with the Guptas. The Vākātakas often used the phrase 'Jitam Bhāgavata'. The same tradition of religious thinking continues until the downfall of the Gupta age, Kumārgupta (Ca. 414-455 A.D.) the son of Chandragupta II who followed the same path of his father, was possibly a 'paramabhāgavata' as some of his coins prove it. A few of his coins bear the portrait of Garuḍa which confirms this assertion. Moreover, some of his silver coins bear the legend *'paramabhāgavata 'Mahārayādhirāya Śrī Kumārgupta Mahandraditya'*. Vaiṣṇavism had free access among the royal palaces and also the cottages of common people. In those days devotion of Viṣṇu was so deep that people used to name their children in a way which begins with Viṣṇu e.g. Viṣṇuchandra, Viṣṇudatta, Viṣṇubhadra, Viṣṇupālita, Haridatta, Harilāla, Rāmaka, Gopālaswāmin, Bhattagopāla etc. Some times successive members of the same family having visnuvite leaning took names ending with Viṣṇu as Indraviṣṇu, Varunaviṣṇu, Hariviṣṇu, Mātriviṣṇu and his brother Dhyānaviṣṇu.

The evidences furnished above clearly prove that Vaiṣṇavism pervaded throughout the areas ruled by the earlier Guptas. Thereafter during the period of later Guptas Vaiṣṇavism developed to a greater extent. Skandagupta and Kumārgupta concretised the foundation of Vaiṣṇavism and influenced the feudal kings and common people as well. The Junāgarh Rock Inscription declares him as a devout Vaiṣṇava [parama-bhāgavata Śrī Vikramāditya Skandagupta(h)]. Following the tolerant policy of his forefather, the emperor advised all his officers to be tolerant towards other religions. He built temples and placed images of Viṣṇu in his various forms in those shrines. In this regard Bhitāri stone pillar Inscriptions (Gāzipur, U.P.) proves the same fact. Like Chandragupta II the later Guptas were devout Vaiṣṇavas. Skandagupta thought of making an image of Viṣṇu and install in the name Sāringin to last as long as the Moon and Stars last. He made also a gift of village for the maintenance of the deity. The king's religion had an unique influence upon the people of the dynasty. During the reign of Budhagupta, and subordinate ruler, Mātriviṣṇu erected a 'dhwajastambha' of God Viṣṇu under the name of Janārdana in the Gupta year (484-485 A.D.). In the Erān stone pillar a statement Mātriviṣṇu justifies that Budhagupta was extremely devoted to God Viṣṇu (Atyanta Bhāgavata bhakta). The inscriptions identify Viṣṇu with Janārdana who has four arms. The God Viṣṇu is then to be known by another name of Gobinda. The Erān stone pillar is an outstanding evidence of devotional cult of Viṣṇu.

In the beginning of the 6th century A D. during the reign of Vinaygupta (G.E. 188 i.e. 508 A.D.) Vaiṣṇavism spread throughout India. The Gunāigarh[35] (Tepperāh-Bengal) inscription records that a temple of Pradyumneswara has been built during the reign of Vinaygupta. Vaiṣṇavism in Gupta age refers to a close connection of Bhāgavatism with Yoga philosophy and solar worship as it is depicted in the Gītā and Nārāyaiṇya section of the Mahābhārata, Most historians have considered

Pradyumneswara as a combined form of Hari and Hara. The Tepperah district inscription also refers to two carved stone images of Viṣṇu that proves the worship of Viṣṇu in this region.

Even with the disintegration of the Gupta empire, the influence of Vaiṣṇavism continued throughout the country. In central India, the Khoh copper plate of Jayanāth shows the relief figure of Garuḍa (5th century A.D.). The Barabar Hill cave inscription of Anantavarman refers to the installation of an image of Kṛṣṇa and that of Jayanāth refers to a temple of Viṣṇu. The Khoh[36] records begin with an invocation to God Vāsudeva. The Sāranāth stone inscription of Silāditya VII (766 A.D) describes the Nṛsimha incarnation of Viṣṇu. The Mālia copper plate inscription also refers to Dhrubsena I as a Bhāgavata or Vāsudeva. During the reign of Paribrājaka kings of Nagaudha (C. I.) Vaiṣṇavism played an important role in the religious history of India. In Mondāsar of the Gowālior during the reign of Naravarman, Viṣṇu had been described in adoration as having thousand heads and an immeasurable soul. The idea of thousand-headed Viṣṇu was derived from the Ṛgveda. Vāsudeva has been described in this epigraph as a cosmic figure. The Bādāmi bas reliefs that belong to the period of the early rulers of the Chālukya family depict Viṣṇu lying on the serpent, Ananta Nāga, with Laksmi serving him. The Boar, Dwarf and Man-lion incarnations depict many legends of Kṛṣṇa sāgā.

The temple of Deoghar (Jhānsi, M.P.) represents Viṣṇu relining on Anantanāga. The sculpture at Pāthāri in Central India depicts the new-born Kṛṣṇa lying by his mother's side. Both the records belong to the 6th century A.D. The Dasāvatāra and Kailāsanātha temple of Ellorā of the 8th century A.D. also represent the Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa. However, with the downfall of the Guptas, Bhāgavatism might have lost, to some extent, its prominence in Northern India. Some of the powerful sovereigns of the post-Gupta period namely Mihiragara, Yasodharmana and Harsa, were followers of non-Bhāgavata cults. But later on, Bṛhatsamhitā of Varāhamihira[37] refers to bhaktas of Vāsudeva and defines Bhāgavata as one of devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu. Bānabhatta (7th century A.D.)[38] in his 'Harsacharita' describes a meeting with Harsa with Buddhists, Jainas and Bhāgavatas. Bānabhatta mentions not only the Bhāgavatas but also Pāñcharātras which was used as a synonym for Bhāgavata.

Kashmir, during the reign of Anantavarmā witnessed the influence of Vaiṣṇavism. Magnificient temples were built in honour of Vāsudeva during his rule. The Bhāgavatas, according to Śankarāchārya, were an influential sect in the early part of the 9th century A.D.

During the post-Gupta period Vaiṣṇavism was found in a declining condition in the north India but continued to flourish in the south. Vākātakas of Vidarbha (Modern Berār) who were originally followers of Saivism had changed their religion to Vaiṣṇavism under the influence of the queen of Rudrasena, Prabhāvati Guptā, daughter of Chandragupta II. Prabhāvati Guptā called herself *Atyanta bhāgavata bhaktā.* The Pallava kings and queens, mostly notably, Simhavarman, were all profound devotees of Viṣṇu. Chālukyas in the Deccān, also assumed the title of 'Parama-bhāgavata'. In the Vidarbha kingdom the cult of Vaiṣṇavism flourished under the strong impetus of the Ālvars who by their Tāmil songs inculcated Bhakti and Kṛṣṇa worship mainly.

Bhāgavatism had penetrated into the Deccān as early as the 1st century B.C. In the southern part of India Vaiṣṇavism was a familiar creed which is testified to by the popularity of Vaiṣṇava literature during the reigns of Pallava and Nala kings. By the middle of the 4th century A.D. it found its way to the extreme south. We have the evidence of Kṛṣṇa-Balarām worship in the Tāmil country, and this is proved by Silappādikaram and other works. Silappādikaram[39] refers to temples of two gods at Madurā, Kāveripattanam and other cities. The inscription from Guntur district which may be assigned to the first half of the 4th century A.D. speaks of the temple of Nārāyaṇa. Ālberuni in this regard advocated that large number of worshippers of Vāsudeva flourished in Drāvida country in the Kali age when they were rare in other parts in India. In western India, the members of Traikutaka dynasty made considerable effort to spread Vaiṣṇavism which is proved by some of the coins issued by them. In Kailan, we find a vaiṣṇavite record in which king Sridharana described himself as a parama-vaiṣṇava, a devout worshipper of the god Purusottama (Jagannātha). King Sridharana Rāta was a 'parama-vaiṣṇava', very liberal and tolerant in religious matters. In the Mallia grant we see Jayanāga, who was also a parama-bhāgavata.

Next comes Terracota seals which bear relief images of Hindu divinities like Viṣṇu, Laksmi, Surya etc. along with other respective emblems traceable to some ancient sites like Ahicchatra, Bhitā, Rājghāt, Basarh, Kumrahar, Rājgir. These seals indicate Viṣṇu image in relief, bearing Viṣṇuvite creed formula with twelve syllables —"Om Name Bhāgavate Vāsudevāya".

Apart from various archaeological evidences of Vaiṣṇavism there are some literary contributions by Hāla is Gathāsaptasati based on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa legend in which Hari is used for Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa. The contents of the work show the amatory tendency of the bhakti cult which fully developed later. Another important literary work '*Dasabatāra Charita*' of the Kasmirian poet Kshenendra (11th century A.D.) describes in story—from ten incarnations of Viṣṇu. The poet says that great attention to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Amatory scenes of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs (including Rādhā) are also found in the same book.

On the basis of these archaeological and literary evidence it is clear that Vaiṣṇavism was in a flourishing condition in India. After this period, Vaiṣṇavism took a new turn and emerged as neo-vaiṣṇavism, the evidence of which is discernible in various medieval works. From 9th to 10th century A.D. India was vaiṣṇavite in

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religion. Alberuni[40] in his travel accounts describes that the streets of Mathurā and other places were thronged by the worshippers of Viṣṇu.

So far as historicity of Vaiṣṇavism is concerned, we should not overlook the part played by Assam. From 1126 A.D. onwards the people of Assam accepted the religion cordially. During the reign of king Bhutavarman the cult of Vāsudeva had gained free access into the royal household. The Badagangā rock inscription and Daboka rock inscription show that Bhāgavatism had influenced Assam to a great extent. Throughout Assam, there were temples dedicated to Viṣṇu. In Gauhāti there is a figure carved on the rocks, which is now being worshipped as Janārdana Buddha, but it might originally have been a Viṣṇu image.[41] There is a legend that Kṛṣṇa stopped here when he came to Prāgjyotisha to stay the demon naraka. Śaṅkardeva, in his works, celebrated the Bhakti cult which according to him, is the result of profound relationship of the worshipper with the eternal Omniscient god.

It is clear from the above analysis that the Mathurā in the north to Mālābār in the south and from Rājputanā in the west to Assam in the east, the whole of India accepted the Bhakti cult as a means of salvation. Mathurā region was the first centre of Bhāgavata movement. The new faith that developed on the banks of the Yamunā finally coalesced with a new Brāhmanical sect and eventually became known as Vaiṣṇavism.

As regards the evolution of religious ideas, we find from available sources that the earlier form of Vaiṣṇavism was more or less ethical but afterwards this ethical nature has slightly changed. The cult of devotion or bhakti which might have its origin in earlier period gradually took on a new orientation when amatory qualities were emphasized in the Gītagobinda of Jayadeva in the 12th century A.D.

This orientation in Bhakti-cult which began by the end of the 12th century A.D. produced some amatory lyric poetry in Indian literature. It continued until the female element is idolised and made the object of personal worship. This signifies, the '*gopībhāva*' or the '*Rādhā-bhāva*' of the worshippers. The Vaiṣṇavas of later period considered themselves as gopīs or Rādhā in their adoration of Kṛṣṇa and transfigured physical passion into the realm of mysticism. Here we can cite the conversation between Chaitanya and Rāmānanda regarding the development of bhakti. We can derive the very essence of mystic relationship between the worshipper and the worshipped. In course of the conversation Rāmānanda also said same stage (*Rādhābhāva*) of bhakti. But Rādhābhāva is neither mentioned in Śrīmadbhāgavadgītā nor in Bhāgavat-purāṇas. Then Rāmānanda cited a line from Gītagobinda[42] in which the greatness of *Rādhā-bhāva* has been described. It can be said here that the tradition of bhakti (līlā) represented in Bhāgavat-purāṇas is related to *Sarat-purṇimā* and the *rāsalīlā* (bhakti) described in Gītagobinda represents the tradition of *Basanta-purṇimā*. In the former we see absence of Rādhā and in the later there are gopīs along with Rādhā.

However we can conclude that bhakti (herein Kṛṣṇa-bhakti of the **Vaiṣṇavas**) up to the 16th century A.D. has developed to a greater extent through various stages and transfigured into *Kāntābhāva* which subsequently has taken the shape of *Rādhā-bhāva*.

Vaiṣṇavas in the medieval period have expressed this idea representing themselves as Rādhā and contributed to a literature of divine taste.

ORISSA

Orissa being situated in the middle of India was always hospitable to many religious doctrines which were expressed in literary songs. Like other religions i.e. Buddhism, Jainaism, Śaivaism, Vaiṣṇava faith have had its great influence upon social life of the people. In the realm of religious tradition Jagannātha served as a basic symbol.

Whenever the political history changed, it brought about the changes in the religious life of the people. It is well known that during the reign of emperor Asok, Buddhism reached its climax in moulding the life and beliefs of the people of Orissa in some form. From time to time Orissa has had a number of religious reformers throughout her history. The system of give-and-take has enriched her culture with greater superiority, consequently placing her religion on a greater height. Though, some times monarchical patronage has lent support to one particular cult or another, yet the glory of Jagannātha continues unaltered as ever. It is said that the history of the religion of the people of Orissa, is so to speak, the history of Jagannātha.[43]

Orissa has a rich history of her own, so also her religion. From ancient times propogation of Vaiṣṇava religion was in vogue. The origin of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa lies in the Vedic religion, it has built its body on traditional structure of vedic religion. The original immortal character of Vaiṣṇavism, in spite of adverse influences of other religion, did not lose its spontaneous flow. It has every room for other religion. In the Mahābhārata, Vanaparva, Indradyumna is acclaimed as the oldest man.[44] On the basis of this episode it can be believed that the worship of Chaturddhā idol at Purusottama Kshetra established by Indraduymna is the earliest evidence of the Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. Before it, Viṣṇu was worshipped here in the form of Nīlamādhava.[45] Besides, the study of Purāṇas such as Brahmapurāṇa, Bṛhatnāḍadiyapurāṇa reveals that the worship of Viṣṇu in the form of Purusottama at Purusottama-Kshetra was in practice during the purānic ages.[46]

Jagannātha is mentioned for the first time in Jñānasiddhi of Indrabhuti written sometimes in 717 A.D. Jagannātha has been described as the famous deity of Odra or Utkala as expressed in the famous Tantric works like Kālikāpurāṇa, Rudrayayāmala, Brahmayāmala and Tantrayāmala. Śaṅkarchārya during his spiritual journey had stayed at Purī and he described Jagannātha as identical with great Brāhmanical God, Purusottama of Gītā.[47] Though it is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of the origin of Vaiṣṇava faith or Viṣnupuja in Orissa yet it can be said with utmost sincerity that it had its origin during the Mathara dynasty reigned from 350 A.D. to 440 A.D. The vaiṣṇavism during the period under review was the principal religion of the people of the kingdom as it has been proved from the archaeological evidences. The king Pravanjanbardhana in his Negondi copper plate grant[48] declared himself as the devotee of Nārāyaṇa.[49] Another inscription of Pravanjanvarmā edited by Fleet repeats the same contention which indicates that king, the lord of Kalinga was a 'Paramabhāgavat'.[50] In a copper plate[51] inscription of Sailodbhava king, Madhyamarāja III, we can find the reference to Vāmana, incarnation of Hari which is worth-mentioning. During the Kara dynasty the flow of Vaiṣṇavism had got impetus specially under the royal patronage of later Kara monarchs. A copper plate of Dāṇḍi-Mahādevi represents a relief of a conchshell which, according to some scholars, proves the worship of Viṣṇu.[52] Tribhuban Mahādevi (probably the grand-mother of Dāṇḍi-Mahādevi) described herself as 'parama vaiṣṇavī' (a devoted follower of Viṣṇu).[53]

It is said that durlng the reign of Bhoumakaras many religious sects flourished side by side. The change of religion in the Bhoumakara family may be attributed to the influence of the Soma dynasty.[54] The revival of Brāhmanism occurred during the reign of Jajāti Keśari who brought from Kanyakubja ten thousand Brāhmaṇas having vast knowledge of the Vedas and Vedic rituals. With the arrival of these Brāhmins it seems that the Buddhism slowly lost its hold among the people of Orissa. In the modern district of Dhenkanal near Talcher on the bank of the Brahmani river valley unmerous Nārāyaṇa idols were found which suggests that the worship of Nārāyaṇa was prevalent. Again in the river valley of Prāchī near Kākatpur area of Purī district several Viṣṇu or Vāsudeva images have been discovered of which one Viṣṇu image has been preserved in the State museum and other two images have been kept in the Jagannātha Vallava temple and Saraveya Gourānga Matha of Purī. Other such as Mādhava, Rāma, Durgamādhava, Lakshminārāyaṇa, Harihar etc, have also been found in various temples of Orissa.

It can be said with some amount of validity that Viṣṇu-worship was not at all a new element in Orissa. It has had its origin the remote past, i.e., 4th century A.D. Gradually this particular religious tradition becomes popular among the people, spreading spontaneously from one corner to another and surpassing the other religious beliefs.

The Gangas were ardent devotee of Śaivaism but since the time of Choḍaganga (1078-1147 A.D.) they changed their faith from Śaivaism to Vaiṣṇavism. This change of religion among royal family was the result of the teachings of Rāmānuja, the founder of Visistādvaitabāda, and the worshipper of Laksmi-nārāyaṇa. The philosophy of Rāmānuja helped to set up a separate temple of Lakshmi in the vicinity of the temple of Jagannātha.

Choḍagangadeva constructed[55] many temples such as Mukhālingam, Śrīkurmam, and Simhāchalam and all were dedicated to Viṣṇu.[56] He also reconstructed the temple of Jagannātha at Purī. Choḍagangadeva called himself 'Parama Vaiṣṇava'.[57]

The Vaiṣṇavism during the period of Anantavarmā Choḍaganga and his sons became widespread after the arrival of Rāmānuja. Later Ganga kings like Rāghava, Anangabhima were well known for their religious activities throughout the country. It is worthmentioning here that Chandrikā, daughter of Anangabhima III erected Viṣṇu temple in the Vindusorobar at Ekāmra (Bhubaneswar) and offered worship to Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā.[58]

The erection of such a temple dedicated to God Kṛṣṇa-Balarām in the ganga period substantiates the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism. The influence of Vaiṣṇavism is perceptible in personal names. The influence was so immense that some kings took the names of Narasimhas. The influence of Viṣṇu was so popular that different synonyms have been used by the kings and subjects. The names Ananta, Rāghava, Narasimha (Nṛsimha) prove the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism as such the name of Narasimha indicates that the people of that age believe in the incarnation theory of God (Viṣṇu). Common people of Orissa specially devotees of Viṣṇu used to name their children like Hari, Rāma, Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa etc. The kings and their feuds were named after Kṛṣṇa such as Govinda Bidyādhar Mukunda. If we consider a few epigraphical evidence such as Bhimeswara Temple inscription[59] of the reign of Bhānudeva I succeeded Narasimhadeva II testifies that Narahari Tīrtha, a regent of Bhānudeva I made a gift of three niskas for feeding Vaiṣṇava Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of the Śrījayanti festival in the 1264 A.D. The Simhāchalam Temple inscription of Bhānudeva records the gift of several articles for worship of God Narasimha. Śrīkurmam inscription[60] shows that Narahari Tīrtha set up the images of Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana at Śrīkurmam. Narahari spreads Mādhava cult as he was initiated by Mādhavāchārya. He was advised to go to the Gajapati emperor of Kalinga to bring the image of Rāma and Sītā. However, the death of Narasimhadeva did not stop the current. His successors proved themselves popular in preaching the Vaiṣṇava theology to a greater extent.

We know that from eleventh century A.D. Purī became the preaching ground for the Viṣṇuswāmi cult. In the twelfth century A.D. the influence of Rāmānuja did not decline wholly. In spite of teachings and preachings of great religious leaders of various faiths the popular belief in Jagannātha prevailed as ever. The religion of Jagannātha absorbed every religious philosophy and retained its identity through the vicissitudes of religious differences. We know that most of the Ganga kings acknowledged their adherence to different faiths but all of them tried to increase the glory of Lord Jagannātha. In fact, the religious belief of the people during the period under study centred round Jagannātha.[61] Jagannātha from the twelfth century onwards is considered as a viṣṇuvite deity. Dr. Mahatab in this regard remarks that "by the 12th century A.D. it was well established that Jagannātha was the Buddha incarnation of Viṣṇu. Since then the religious belief of the people of Orissa has been based on Jagannātha. All religious creeds seem to have contributed to this cult of Jagannātha. The Suryavāda of Mahāyana, Vajrayāna, Sahajyāna of Buddhism, Jainaism, Śaivaism, Śākta worship etc. all have exercised their influence on Jagannātha worship."[62] The religious history of Orissa provides several proofs regarding the role of Jagannātha. Jagannātha, literally denotes the Lord of the Universe, is being worshipped at Purī. We are only see that Jagannātha from time to time assimilated all the flows of religions that came to Orissa into himself. Jagannātha is sometimes recognised as Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa being proclaimed in the work of 'Gopālarchanābidhi'. In the 12th century Rāmānuja, in the 13th Mādhavācharya, Narahari Tīrtha, Viṣṇuswāmi, Nimbārka, came and worshipped Jagannātha. They later on established temples at Purī and formed different schools of Vaiṣṇavism. Purī was a centre of learning and a heart of religion long before the arrival of religious leaders from the south. Murāri Misra in his 'Anargharaghava Nātakam' suggests God Purusottama (Jagannātha) was worshipped on the sea shore. Jagannātha is mentioned as the synonym of Viṣṇu in the Trikāndasesha written by Purusottama Deva who flourished in the 9th century A.D.[63] From Kapilendra Gajapati (who reigned from 1435-1466 A.D.) the religious climate began to change to a particular form of Vaiṣṇavism. Kapilendra Gajapati was a great devotee of Lord Jagannātha. He made arrangements of dancing of the Devadāsis every day before Lord Jagannātha. His son, Purusottamadeva has followed the path of his father. Every time every religion has tried to assimilate the Jagannātha tradition among themselves and finally absorbed in it. As such the later kings of Gangas and after Gangas, the emperors of Surya dynasty has advocated the religious tradition of their predecessors.

Apart from this we have found another form of Viṣṇupujā worship of Gopīnāth which was in vogue since 13th century A.D. The cult of Gopīnāth (Kṛṣṇa without Rādhā) was so popular that we can see now that the word "Gopīnāth" is still being used as personal name. It is said that the temple of Gopīnāth at Remunā (Bālāsore) was built under the patronage of Narasimhadeva I. He made arrangements for the worship of Gopīnāth in the temple as described by Binod Chaitanya Bābaji in his book 'Gopīnātha Charitāmrta'. It is traditionally believed that Narasimhadeva I (1.38-64 A.D.) had installed the image of Khīrachorā Gopīnātha at Remunā. The places where we have had found the images of Gopīnāth being worshipped are Hirāpur, Bāliantā, Gopīnāthpur and Maltira near Āgarpara are most important. The form and technique of representation of the images remind us of the gopalīlā scene of Śrīkṛṣṇa. Archaeologically we can cite a few references as to prove the popularity of Gopīnāth cult. In the outer wall of Konārka we find the image of Gopīnāth encircled by gopis. In the Rājārāni temple of Bhubaneswar we can see an image of Kṛṣṇa playing with flute has been inscribed. The name Gopīnāthpur and Gopīballavapur testify the popularity of Gopīnāth cult.

Besides the cult of Gopīnāth which we have seen from various records, the cult of Rādhā i.e. Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā has also been worshipped throughout Orissa. It is found that Rādhā Kṛṣṇa worship became very popular in Orissa after the writing of 'Gītagobinda' by Jaydeva. Gītagobinda has had an immense influence upon the vaiṣṇavas of Orissa. During the period under study we can see a number of manuscripts in the form of commentary of Gītagobinda were written.[64]

However, we are told that the Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa is not a recent event. It has been popularising from the old days. But the chief deity of worship sometimes became Kṛṣṇa and sometimes Rāma. From the old days it has been channelised in two ways—one flowed towards Kṛṣṇa and the other directed to Rāma. The element of 'premabhakti' branched off from Ālvars was scanty though not popular before the arrival of Śrī Chaitanya in Orissa The vaiṣṇavas who worshipping Kṛṣṇá, were divided in two distinct sects—the first one is known as *Śuddhābhakti* group and the second is school of *Jñānamiśrābhakti*. The former, some historians believe, originated in Bengal and was named Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava dharma ; the latter purely took its birth in Orissa. After the arrival of Chaitanya in Orissa; some people of the state following the instances of Bengal, were being initiated to the cult of Love, preached by Śrī Chaitanya. The people who believe in *Jñānamiśrābhakti* acted hard to keep the tradition in tact. But Chaitanya's preachings for *Śuddhābhakti* did not stop. The cult of Love for all, the idea of endurance for other religions, absorbed into the cult of Jagannātha, who is a synthesis, a fusion of various religions and Jagannātha came to be honoured as the chief deity of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism.

Vaiṣṇavism of Orissa had has its origin in the remote past and bloomed in the 16th century, when pañchasakhās, the five associates of Chaitanya, devoted their life for cult of love. Before the arrival of Śrī Chaitanya, the *Jñānamiśrābhakti* doctrines was dominant but later on weakened as a result of preaching of *Śuddhābhakti-premabhakti*. *Jñānamirśābhakti* was prevalent before Chaitanya came to Orissa. *Premabhakti* which was dormant began to bloom and consequently, got its sustenance from the arrival of Śrī Chaitanya.

BENGAL

The stream of Vaiṣṇavism which swept the entire country had its stronghold in Bengal. From the Gupta period onwards we have a series of archaeological references that testify to the widespread impact of Vaiṣṇavism in the Bengali mind.

The oldest archaeological evidence of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal is found at Śusānia hill[65], 12 miles north-west of the town of Bānkura.[66] The engravings testify to the popularity of Viṣṇupujā at the time of the king Chandravarman who was a devotee of Chakraswāmin, (weilder of discus) a name given to Viṣṇu. King Chandravarman called himself the foremost of the servants of Chakraswāmin (cf. Chakrasvāminaḥ dasagrena-tisrestah). There are also at the base of the same hill some ancient sculptures, the present being that of the Narasimha incarnation of Viṣṇu.

Later on, during the first part of the 5th century A.D. a temple of Govindaswāmin was discovered in the district of Bogra and two other temples of Svetavarahasvāmin and Kokamukhasvāmin were also built there during the close of that century.

The Bagram copper plate inscription[67] shows that Bhoyila and Bhāskara, inhabitants of the village Trivṛta Śrīgopāla, modern Baigrām of Bogra district in Bangladesh, purchased fallow and homestead land in order to meet the expenses of repair works of the temple of the worship of God Govindasvāmin, a form of Viṣṇu-Kṛsṇa.[68] It indicates that common people also devoted their life to the Viṣṇupujā.

In the six century A.D. we have references of Viṣṇupujā. The temple of Pradyumneśwara in Tepperāh district bears the evidence of Vaiṣṇavism. These references date back to the reign of Vinay-Gupta (in the Gupta year 188 i.e. 508 A.D.) and the place of the same is Gunāigarh. The Tepperāh copper plate refers to the worship of Bhagavān Ananta Nārāyaṇa was not new in this eastern extremity of Bengal. All these deities were presumably the forms of Viṣṇu whose worship seems to have been established all over. Bengal by the 5th to 6th century A.D. The Pāhāḍpur[69] inscription includes itself in the list of evidences. It probably belongs to the 5th-7th century A.D. or to the 8th century A.D. at the latest. From the above facts, it is clear that the Vaiṣṇavism reached a high watermark in the religious history of Bengal as in other parts of India during the time of Imperial Guptas. During the post-gupta times, Vaiṣṇavism not only enjoyed the royal patronage but also penetrated among the masses, for common people accepted this cult and made gifts to this cult deity Viṣṇu in various forms. Many people assumed vaiṣṇavite names also. The Mallasarul copper plate of Śrī Gopachandra[70] shows that the name Hari, which was purely a Vaiṣṇava name, is mentioned several times. In this plate a seal affixed to suggests a relief figure of a two armed male deity standing with an oval shaped Chakra in the background signifies Sudarśana Chakra of Viṣṇu. The copper plate inscription of Lokanātha Tipperāh belonging to the 7th century A.D. refers to the worship of Bhagavān Ananta Nārāyaṇa who is said to have been adored by even some chief gods, the sun, the moon, kuvera, Asuras, Yaksas and others. Another seal attached to the Tepperāh grant shows a relief figure of the Goddess Laksmi standing on a lotus pedastal being sprinkled with water by elephants from two sides.

Next the terracota plaque with a standing figure of a four armed Viṣṇu found at Rājasan near Sābhār, district Dāccā (Bangladesh) bearing the twelve syllabled mantra indicates the quality and characters of the 6th and 7th century A.D. and also proves the wide popularity of Vaiṣṇavism during this period. The Kṛṣṇāyana sculptures on the basement of the Pāhāḍpur temple also testify to the popularity of the cult of Kṛṣṇa in Bengal, depicting various Kṛṣṇa-sāgā described in the great epic and several Purāṇas. We find here an amatory couple identified as Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.[71] Thus the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult of modern times flourished long before. The supremacy of Kṛṣṇa was established as proved by the Belava inscription of Bhojavarmana, where Kṛṣṇa is not only the Sutradhara but also the Gopī-satakelikāra.[72] Later on, the Pāla kings, though Buddhists, were tolerant towards other religions and an inscriptional evidence shows that some Viṣṇu temples were constructed during that period. Some epigraphic records of the Pāla kings bear evidences that Vaiṣṇavism was prevalent among the high officials and common people as well. There are also evidences to show that the pouraṇic stories relating to Kṛṣṇa and other incarnations of Viṣṇu were not unknown to the people.[73]

The historical references like archaeological, epigraphical records or evidences are the main source which are so important that we should not avoid those for the first instances. These are abundant. From the gupta period to Pāla-Sena dynasty we have numerous evidences of copper plates.

The Khalimpur copper plate of Dharmapāla testifies the prevalence of Viṣṇu cult. It refers to some of the incarnations such as Kṛṣṇa, Rāma-dāśarathi and Parusarāma. The inscriptions of Nārāyaṇa Pāla, of the same Pāla dynasty like Gayā stone[74] and Bādal Pillal invocate the Nṛsimha incarnation of Viṣṇu. In Gayā, we have a number of temples which prove the worship of Viṣṇu in different forms like Janārdana, Gadādhara, Nṛsimha, Vāsudeva and Nārāyaṇa. During the reign of Yaksapāla, we find that a composite icon of Laksmi-Nārāyaṇa along with other deities which were worshipped in Bengal in the 11th century A.D. The kings of Pāla dynasty like their imperial gupta predecessors were tolerant to other religious policies. Though Buddhists they were liberal and sympathetic towards orthodox hindus and appointed Brāhmins like Gangā Darbhapani, Someśwara, Kedār Miśra, and Gourava Miśra as their ministers. The king Nayapāla, who was a great devotee of Vaiṣṇava faith erected a temple in honour of God Janārdana and Gadādhara.

The history of Bengal during the second half of the 11th century A.D. was not peaceful for Pālas. Certain chieftains and vassal kings defied the Pālas, as a result of which new powers arose. Some parts of East Bengal were occupied by Chandras and Varmaṇas who were Buddhists and Vaiṣṇavas respectively. The Varmaṇas were the devotees of Viṣṇu and they bore the title of '*parama-vaiṣṇava*'. Some copper plate of Varmaṇas such as Belava copper plate[75] of king Bhojavarman testifies that Varmaṇas were originally known as Yādavas.

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In around Varendra (East Bengal) comprising of the districts of Māldāh, Dinājpur and Bogra, the images of Viṣṇu and his attendants have been found abundantly. Mahāsthān, in the district of Bogra, there were places named after Viṣṇu. Cunningham[76] in this connection reports a series of names of Brāhmanical deities like Visṇu, Śiva, Skanda and incarnations of Visṇu like Varadā, Vāmaña, Narasimha, Rāma, Paraśurāma in and around Mahāsthāna. B. Hamilton[77] also noticed the images of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā in this region. This view is supplied by R. L. Mitra.[78]

With the development of mythological stories we have formed in Bengal Viṣṇu-Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa as a god of love was becoming more popular in the medieval period.

It is also seen from this time onwards that the child form of Kṛṣṇa (Kānhu) became a best object of adoring endearment in many households of Bengal from this time onwards. The Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa element, the Kṛṣṇa līlā scenes of the structural representation at Pāhāḍpuṛ, the terracota art, all prove that the development has reached to certain clear stage during the later part of Pāla dynasty.

With the fall of the Pālas and Chandras, Buddhism has gone underground fall all time. Simultaneously with the rise of Senas in Bengal the Brāhmanical religion and culture has received a fresh impetus. The contemporary literary output of Bengal during this period proves that Vaiṣṇavism under the patronage of Vallāla Sena, and his son Laksmana Sena[79] has received a purely divine colour. Their successor Keśava Sena and Viswarūpa Sena has shown special leaning to Viṣṇu cult as it has been prove from the inscriptions begin with invocations towards Nārāyaṇa.[80] People of Bengal, during this period, used to worship deities like Viṣṇu, Śiva, Surya etc. The presence of Viṣṇu images in its different forms, belonging to this period indicate that the worshipping of Viṣṇu and his incarnation was popular during the Sena period.

However, it is said that Vaiṣṇavism of the Gupta period is completely different from its pāñcharātra stage, The Vyuhabāḍa was absent from the Bhāgavatism of the Guptas, and in courses of time it appears as a syncretism of various Vaiṣṇava sub-cults. Viṣṇu of the Vedic Brāhmaṇism, Nārāyaṇa of the Pāñcharātras, Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva of the Sātvatas and Gopāla of the pastoral people, all had been put in a melting pot that produced Bhāgavatism of the Guptas. R. P. Chanda remarked that Vaiṣṇavism had its entrance to Bengal in the Gupta period and had been firmly planted during the Pālas.[81]

During the Sena period, we can see, Jaydeva, the court poet of Laksmanasena, gave a list of ten avatāras, viz. (Matsya, Kurma, Varāha, Nṛsimha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma, Balarāma, Buddha and Kalki). It is clear that Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal has contributed to the systematisation of the theory of Avatāras. During the Sena period we can see a noteworthy feature of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism is the Rādhā Kṛṣṇa cult upon which the superstructure of neo-Vaiṣṇavism stands.[82]

The kingdom of Senas during the last decade of 12th century A.D. had experienced interference from several feudatory dynasties and chieftains, yet the spread and popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal is proved by the numerous copper plates found in different places and the existence of Vaiṣṇava temple in the Tribeni-Sātagram region. The temple was, later on, occupied by Gāzi Zāffar Khān and converted into a mosque in 1298 A.D.

Vaiṣṇavism suffered a lot at the hands of the followers of Islam for two centuries or more. Yet it had not declined. After the rule of Keśava Sena and Madhu Sena, Devas who also were adherents of Vaiṣṇava faith, ruled Bengal. A number of copper plate grants like Mehar[83], Chittāgong[84] and Ādabari[85] issued by the Deva kings depict the religious philosophy of the then Bengal. The official seal of Deva kings contained the figure of Viṣṇu, riding on Garuḍa. Scholars and historians contend that Devas ruled Bengal during the 13th century A.D. The development of Vaiṣṇavism continued in spite of external aggression and internal rivalries till the advent of Chaitanya.

Besides these archaeological evidences and historical fact furnished above, we have many literary sources which are essential to prove the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal.

If we keep aside the foremost literary contribution by Hāla, to the cult of Vaiṣṇavism in India, the 'Rāmacharitam'[86] of Sandhyākar Nandi narrates the history of Bengal for about three quarters (from 1070-1145 A.D.) covering the reign of Rāmapāla and his successors. It also narrates the religious philosophy of the rulers in general and their mode of religious worship in particular. If we go through the Chapter IV of the same book it proves that various Brāhmanical deities including Viṣṇu were worshipped in that region. Hari and Viṣṇu was conceived as a four armed deity with wheel, conchshell, race and sword as his attributes, and Garuḍa as his vehicle. It describes various Kṛṣṇa-sāgā, refers to some episodes in the life of Kṛṣṇa also.[87] The next literary work in which we have references of the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism is 'Saduktikarnāmrta' of Srīdhardāsa.[88] In this book we can see the amatory scenes of Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs (including Rādhā) which deserve mention in this connection. The oldest sanskrit poetical anthology 'Kavīndravachana-samuchchaya' composed in Bengal in which we find numerous instances of Viṣṇu cult that prevailed during 11th-12th century A.D. There are verses which refer to some of the deities of Brāhmaṇical pantheon such as Viṣṇu, Hari, Umā, Śiva etc. including a separate chapter devoted to Hari (Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa) and some verses describing the amorous picture of the Gopīs with Kṛṣṇa have been included in the sections called Hari-Vrajya and Asati-Vrajya. Rādhā is also found place in a veiled form. In this book we find the elaborate description of most of the avatāras. During this period we have another literary sources which is known as Charyāpadas. Charyāpadas were composed in songs and are synthesis of Sahajiyā songs, the Vaiṣṇava pada, the Śākta hymns, the Baul songs and even the songs of Sufi. M.M. H. P. Śāstri who discovered the literature found resemblance between Charyā songs and Kīrtanas of the Vaiṣṇava cult.[89]

From what has been said above it is clear that Vaiṣṇavism was the principal religion in Bengal from Gupta period onwards. But the form of Vaiṣṇavism prevalent in Bengal before the advent of Chaitanya had its peculiarity like Śaiva and Śākta worship. It is different and bears little relation with Vaiṣṇavism of other places. The amatory scenes of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa depicted at Pāhāḍpur was the oldest of all and bears the differences of the ideas of Bengal from rest of India.

The padāvalīs of Jaydeva in sanskrit and songs of Chaṇḍidāsa in Bengali had popularised the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult and substantiated the differences between Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal with other parts of India. It is also said that Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavas has derived its inspiration from the Śrīmadbhāgavata itself, which is undoubtedly the fountain source of all the Vaiṣṇava sects. Yet the Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal is indigenous and typical of its own. Dr. S. K. De has said as a religious attitude Bengal Vaiṣṇavism appears indeed as a fairly homogeneous result, but in reality it is a complex product. Its tradition is not only multiple but also polygeneous.[90] It is also said that the doctrine of bhakti or the devotional sentiment for Kṛṣṇa were accepted by a group of devotional ascetics on the basis of Śrīmadbhāgavata. Chaitanya, being a ascetic of this class, gave a new shape and moulded this movement into an entirely new shape by his own religious philosophy, personality, practice, love and experience of Bhakti as a means of spiritual realisation.

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Chapter Two

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF ORISSA IN THE 16TH CENTURY A.D.—POLITICAL HISTORY OF ORISSA—RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLE AND THE KINGS—MATHAS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

The sixteenth century in the history of Orissa is an age of transition. In this century Orissa lost a considerable part of her kingdom, but gained substantially in prestige since it became the stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism, a powerful religious doctrine. In the field of Oriya literature, it was an age of renaissance as it saw a number of remarkable poets who translated the Rāmāyaṇa, the Bhāgavata and the Harivaṁsa into Oriya and thus enriched Oriya language and literature. The history of this century in Orissa is not merely that of the Suryavamsi monarchs. The first half was ruled by the Gajapati kings and the next were ruled by various kings belonging to different dynasties. Our area of discussion is not political history, but political and social conditions those which brought about changes in the mind of a king who ruled over Orissa before the arrival of Lord Chaitanya.

In the beginning of the century Gajapati Pratāparudradeva ruled over Orissa. Before Pratāparudradeva his father and grandfather Purusottamadeva and Kapilendradeva respectively reigned for 62 years from 1435 A.D. to 1497 A.D. Kapilendradeva was the founder of the Suryavamsi dynasties of Orissa. At the time of his accession he had two strong enemies: in the north, the Sultān of Bengal, and in the south, the rulers of Rājamahendry. But by virtue of his power and personality, Kapilendradeva Gajapati surmounted all the difficulties which initially he had to face. He also succeeded in conquering two sovereign rulers of Vijayanagar: Pratāpadeva and Harihara. The declining power of the Bāhamany Sultāns helped him in his widespread conquest of the southern India and establishment of his prestige and power throughout eastern coast. In the north, Kapilendra won a victory over Sultān Nāsiruddin of Bengal and occupied the fort of Māndāran. During his reign he stretched the boundary of his kingdom from the eastern coasts of the Ganges in the north to the Ārcot district in the south.

After the death of Kapilendradeva in 1466 A.D., his son, Purusottamadeva succeeded to the throne of Orissa in 1467 A.D. Kapilendradeva proclaimed his son Purusottamadeva as his successor before his death.

Purusottamadeva had to face with many problems in the beginning of his administration. The powerful kings whom his father defeated in battles began to assert their independence. The first was the ruler of Bāhamany, Sultān Muhammad Sāha. The Sultān of Bāhamany has appointed Hāsān Bāhari who succeeded in invading and eventually capturing Kondividu. Simultaneously Nṛsimha Sālva of Kāñchi hearing the news of Hāsān Bāhari's re-occupation of Rājamahendry and Kondividu captured the east coast between Udayagiri in the north and Kāveri in the south. Thus the historical map of Orissa changed rapidly with the attack and counter-attacks. Before 1477 A.D. Purusottamadeva had driven out Hāsān Bāhari from Rājamahendry with the help of Bhimarāja who once served as a commander under Bāhamany Sultān, Muhammad III. But in 1477 A.D. Sultān of Bāhamany, Muhammad III again captured Rājamahendry and appointed Hāsān Bāhari as its governor.

The kings of Kāñchi and Bāhamany had been struggling among themselves and in the process got so weakened that eventually they had to surrender to Purusottamadeva of Orissa. We find that in the early years of his reign, Purusottamadeva lost some southern part of his ancestral kingdom, but finally regained all the territories which he had lost. It can be said here that Kapilendradeva and Purusottamadeva fought many battles with the Hindu rulers and eventually conquered some parts of southern India during the reign of 62 years. They knew that in the north Muslims had established their supremacy yet they did not make any treaty with the Hindu kings of the south. It testifies their lacking in knowledge of diplomacy and statesmanship. They should make alliance with the Hindu kings so that Muslim aggressor might not venture to invade Hindu kingdoms. But they did not consider it, as a result Pratāparudradeva had to suffer in the hands of Muslim rulers of Bengal and other parts of India.

After the death of Purusottamadeva in 1497 A.D., his son, Pratāparudradeva succeeded him sometimes between April and September, 1497 A.D. The political condition of Orissa was then favourable for him. The permanent enemy of Orissan empire, the Bāhamany kingdom had been divided into five individual kingdoms under the weak rule of Sultān Muhammad. Another rival of Orissa, at that time, was the emperor of Vijayanagar who became weak after the death of Narasimha Sālva.

After a few years, however, the situation changed. By 1510 A.D. the political condition proved unfavourable for Pratāparudradeva. Krishnadevarāya became the emperor of Vijayanagar dynasty. Along with the rise of Krishnadevarāya, another powerful ruler ascended the throne of Golkunda. Quli Qutab Sāha of Golkunda declared independence from the Bāhamany kingdom in 1512 A.D. Besides Vijayanagar and Bāhamany empire in the south, there was a strong rival in the north named Sultān Hussain Sāha (1493-1519 A.D.), the Bādsah of Bengal. All these three powers fought against the Orissan empire. Out of these three permanent enemies, Sultān of Bengal attacked Orissa in the year 1509 A.D. when Pratāparudradeva was away from his kingdom and busy in war with Krishnadevarāya. Ismāil Ghāzi, the commander of the Sultān of Bengal invaded Orissa and came upto Puri town and plundered the city. On receiving the news of this invasion Pratāparudradeva rushed back to Puri and drove out the invaders from Orissa. The Muhammadan army including commander Ismāil Ghāzi took shelter in the fort of Māndāran, in the district of Hooghly, Bengal. Pratāparudradeva beseized the fort also, but at this critical time, Bhoi Gobinda Vidyādhar, the minister of Pratāparudradeva, betrayed the king and he had to withdraw the attack and came back to the capital. It shows that the king, besides having external enemies, had many internal foes too.

Krishnadevarāya of Vijayanagar after ascending the throne in 1509 A.D. invaded Udaygiri and defeated Pratāparudradeva. After a year, Krishnadevarāya again attacked Orissa and occupied Kondavidu in 1514 A.D. Pratāparudradeva could not protect it and he surrendered several military and civil officers including Virabhadra, son of Pratāparudradeva were taken captives by the king of Vijayanagar. Later on Krishnadevarāya captured the forts of Vinukonda, Bellamakonda, Kondapalli etc. along with commandant of Pratāparudradeva and his family members who are living in Kondapalli fort. Krishnadevarāya was said to have advanced upto Cuttack. When Pratāparudradeva was busy with war with Krishnadevarāya Sālva Timma Rāo, a minister of Krishnadevarāya created suspicion in between Pratāparudradeva and his generals. During 1513 to 1519 A.D. Krishnadevarāya expedited three campaigns against Orissa and won a decisive victory over Pratāparudradeva Gajapati, recovering the provinces of Kondavidu and Udayagiri fort were lost to Vijayanagar during the reign of Malikārjuna.

Thus the series of wars with the south specially with Krishnadevarāya, several defeats, the fall of Kondavidu fort, capture of Tirumala Routrāya, confinement of his son Virabhadra and his subsequent suicide—all these combined together compelled Pratāparudradeva to have a treaty with Krishnadevarāya. According to the treaty the king had to offer his daughter Jagamohini to Krishnadevarāya along with gems, horses, and elephants. In spite of the above offerings Krishnadevarāya did not behave well with Jagamohini. The news of inhuman behaviour of Krishnadevarāya to son Virabhadra, the loss of entire southern part of his kingdom, the treachery of Bhoi Gobinda Vidyādhar all taken together, brought up deep disappointment to Pratāparudradeva. The king finding no other way of happiness took shelter under Vaiṣṇavism which with the arrival of Chaitanya, became a cult of love. Chaitanya's teachings gave him solace and comfort. Now, Pratāparudradeva diverted all his time and energy for spreading Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. The people of Orissa also welcomed it and slowly began to forget their defeats and disappointments under the influence of this new religion.

Owing to the advent of Chaitanya at Puri a great wave of Bhakti cult flowed over Orissa. Pratāparudradeva became influenced by the prominent personality of Chaitanya and devoted his life to the development of the cult of love. Brindāban Dās in his "*Chaitanya Bhāgavata*" said that the king was advised to take the name of Kṛṣṇa always and Pratāparudradeva as an ardent devotee did accordingly.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE 16TH CENTURY ORISSA

The society in the 16th century Orissa was mainly religious in character. All the functions of society were guided by religious motifs. In order to give a socio-religious condition of the 16th century Orissa, we have to depend mainly on literary sources the most important of which is the Mahābhārata of Sāralā Dās, a poet of the last quarter of the 15th century.

From remotest past Orissa was considered as one of the best and oldest bases of all the religions and its religious tradition continued smoothly until present time. From the astro-asiatic aboriginal culture of mystic faiths to medieval Brāhmaṇism,—Jaina, Bouddha, Śaiva, Śoura, Nātha, Gaṇapātya and above all *nirguṇa*-love based vaiṣṇavas built their home in Orissa.[1] Above religious faiths have influenced considerably the people of Orissa in their every sphere of life such as in history, literature, religion, philosophy, art and architecture.

During this period, we find that the majority people of Orissa were cultivators. The king of the state gave more importance to them. The kings were very liberal in collecting taxes. According to Sāralā Dās, the entire output was divided in 108 parts as follows :

Cultivators' share	– 80
King's share	– 8
Share for sheed	– 20

From the above account it is easy to presume that the cultivators were enjoying a good status in society. They were also leading their life on the basis of good behaviour, truth and honesty sanctioned by religion. The cultivators, at the time of war or national emergency, were appointed as soldiers. Besides the cultivators, the Brāhmiṇs were enjoying an important place in society. They were appointed as ministers to the kings and also advisers of the people. The other important castes mentioned in *Sāralā Mahābhārata* were Kshatriya, Vaisya, Śudra.[2] There were at the time of Sāralā Dās many sub-castes such as milkman, *yogi* as revealed in his discussion.[3]

There were other important position like amānātya, pātra, danduashi, katuāl, pandā, purohita, dūta, jagiyā, aratiya, desaura, dagara, dwārapāla, related to civil servants.[4] In the defence side of the administration as revealed in the *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dās there were a series of positions like senāpati, sainya, yoddhā, routa, Baḍakumār, jenā, patwāri etc. The system of intelligence was also in practice. The posts of supervisors and store-keepers were also in vogue. These officers were appointed mainly to serve the people. The people and also the kings were all guided by the morals sanctioned in the *śāstras* of the Hindus.

In Ādiparva, the dialogue between Yudhisthira and Dhṛtarāstra reveals the morals to be adopted for the general administration by the king. Yudhisthira told his uncle, "Hear me my uncle, Being king, anger to be controlled". The king should not express any anger to any of his subjects. If a king is found angry, flood and immature death of children occur in his empire.[5]

The discourse between the sage Durbasā and the king Drupada in Ādiparva reveals the ideal of the king towards his subjects. The conversation reveals the principle to be followed by the king.[6] The king should perform numerous sacrifices for the welfare of the people. If the king protects his subjects he feels happy. There are, in the *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dās, pictures of tribal life. In the Sabhāparva, Śrikṛṣṇa met a kandha king named Bhāskara. Kṛṣṇa told the king that he would supply different varieties of meat for feast in the Rājasuya yajña. From the description by Sāralā Dās we can easily presume that Orissa on the eve of the sixteenth century experienced an atmosphere of tranquility, good administration, law and order.

There are references to various religious cults which were prevalent in Orissa during the period of Sāralā Dās of which the most pervading and popular are Śāktaism, Śaivaism, Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism and Nāthaism.

There are many references to the Śākta cult. Sāralā Dās himself was śākta. His goddess Sāralā was another form of goddess Chaṇḍi. He has invoked the goddess in thousand different names such as Hingulā, Yogamātangini, Siddhamahākhalā, Birupākshi, Kātyāyani, Maheswari, Lohitākshi, Pingulākshi, Bhabāni, Aparnā, Durgā, Bhairavi, Tārā, Charchikā, Ugātārā etc. There were many seats of Śākta-worship in Orissa of which the important ones were Jankaḍa (Sāralā chandi) home place of Sāralā Dās, Virajā and Saptamātrika of Jājpur, Mangalā piṭha of Kākatpur, Vimalā at Nīlāchala, Rāmachaṇḍi piṭha near Konārka, Bhagavati at Bānapur, Sambaleswari at Sambalpur, Katakachandi at Cuttack.

As regards the origin of śākta worship Sāralā Dās in the 'Ādiparva' and in the 'Sabhāparva' of his *Mahābhārata* has said that at the initial stage there were Suryaniranjana, and from that śakti (energy) śāktayana has evolved. The śunya relates perhaps to śunyavāda of Buddhism which in the course of time gave birth to tāntrik śāktiyāna.[7] The poet has also fused Chaṇḍi with Vaiṣṇavi and also with Jagannātha.[8] He says, "I am the son of Sāralā Chaṇḍi who is also Vaiṣṇavi. After dwāpara Jagannātha, Hari will sit as Buddha". In the Savāparva, the poet has described the different roles of Śakti or Devi in various stages of human life. He says, "Chaṇḍi, at the time of birth, is mother, wife at the time of sexual intercourse, at the third stage she is Kālikā and at the last age is Hingulā."[9] He believed in incarnation theory of ten incarnations of God Viṣṇu and also goddess Chaṇḍi. He also has mentioned the ten incarnations of goddess Chaṇḍi.[10]

Besides Śākta-cult there are references to Tāntrik worship in *Sāralā Mahābhārata.* This was due to the influence of Tantra on the popular religions like the Buddhism, the Śaivaism, and the Śāktaism. It had also its influence on the worship of Jagannātha. The vivid description of sacrifices of animals like buffaloes and goats on the alter of the goddess can serve as one of the principal rites of tāntrik worship. There are also many references to many mantras, magical powers and kuhukas. In order to gain favour from the goddess, the worshipper has to master the unnatural powers from Śakti. While describing the episodes of Subhadrā's love for Arjuna the poet has given a number of such tāntrik devices like mantra-yantra, mulikā, ulukirdyā, phitānamuntra, padukā, gotikanjana, mohangundi, deuriā, kuhuka, betāla, veerapesana, sindura, kajjwala and dhuli. We also find that the fire-god has given Arjuna some mani, mantra, and medicines to be victorious in the battle. The fire-god told Arjuna "when you start for war or anywhere touch this medicine in the forehead. If you massage the ashes in the body, you will be free from diseases."[11] It narrates the various processes of unnatural power which were applied to gain success in different phases of life. There are also many processes to be learnt to control magical powers. In this connection the poet has mentioned a religious practice known as 'Kāmāskhibrata'.

The next important and popular cult of Orissa is Śaivism which has had an immense influence upon society. From the 7th century A.D. onwards it went on side by side with Buddhism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śāktaism. In the *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dās, there are a series of names of Śaiva-piṭhas (places) where the worship of Śiva occurs until even today, the principal ones of which are Birajā, Prāchi, Ekāmra-kshetra and Kapilās. Sāralā Dās also has mentioned the importance of Śaiva-piṭhas of India such as Kailāsha, Kāshi, Vārānasi, Hatakeśwara, Haridwāra, Manikarnika, West Kosala and Nepal. Besides the names of Śaiva-piṭhas the poet has given 108 names of Śiva like Maheśa, Maheśwara, Īsāna, Lingākshi, Hiraneśwara, Rudreśwara, Sukshmeśwara, Bharaveśwara, Indreśwara, Dharemeśwara, Karmeśwara, Gaganeśwara, Bhairava, Kalingeśwara, Nameśwara, Yameśwara, Ananteśwara, Siddeśwara, Rameśwara etc. etc.

The tradition of Śaiva worship in the form of *Linga* was very popular during the time of Sāralā Dās. In the Ādiparva, we find an episode of one legged Bhairava idol which is found in many places of Orissa.

There was another important cult before the 16th century A.D. which was known as Nāthadharma. The Nātha-cult has had some remarkable influences upon the society of Orissa. Sāralā Dās, in the 'Sabhāparva', has referred to some of the Nātha gurus like Gorekshanātha, Matsyendranātha and Loi. In the same parva, it is mentioned that Nakula of the epic met Gorekshanātha in the Kadali forest. He prayed for the knowledge of stambhana. There are instances of Gorekshanātha's occult art when Śākuni remembered him for success at the time of his dice game.

The yoga practices of Nātha cult have influenced Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa. The poet in his book used a few epithets such as Yogi, Tapasi and Raula which are used till today for the Nāthas.

So far as the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism is concerned, there are many references to it in *Sāralā Mahābhārata*, the important one being the incarnations of Viṣṇu. In the Udyogaparva, the poet while narrating ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, had actually cited eleven names.[12] He has considered Kṛṣṇa "Kānhu as one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu" which we do not get in Jaydeva's *Gitagobinda* and other works. The poet had an ardent devotion for Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. He had many times described numerous episodes relating to Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. Prior to Sāralā Dās, the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult was very popular in Orissa. The poet under the influence of Jaydeva had depicted the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa līlā with human touch. To the original story of Kṛṣṇa as described in the Mahābhārata the author has added a love episode of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa which is different from Jaydeva's *Gītagobinda.* It justifies the popularity and influence of Vaiṣṇavism. In it he has given stress on the human relationship between Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Although he elsewhere describes Kṛṣṇa as the supreme god or Īswaradevatā yet he is in no way different from common people in respect of love. Out of his intense love for Rādhā Kṛṣṇa could not difierentiate Rādhā and her maid servant. He has utilised this episode to caution the evildoers of the society. From the materials available about the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa episode in Orissa, it can be said that there were two types of stories of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in vogue. One of these groups was led by Jaydeva and the other by Sāralā Dās. The former accepts Rādhā Kṛṣṇa as divine souls and the entire līlā has been interpretated in the same light. Sāralā Dās, though considers Kṛṣṇa as an incarnation of Viṣṇu, in many places he has described Kṛṣṇa as a common man who indulges in sex and love. He warns his country-men that Kṛṣṇa being Viṣṇu does such evilworks under the influence of sexual impulse and so everybody should be very cautious of sexual activities in society. Scholars like Dr. Sen views that prior to Śrī Chaitanya, love episode of Kṛṣṇa with gopīs had no divine base though Kṛṣṇa was regarded as supreme God.[13] These love affairs were considered as emotional and dramatic in the Sanskrit and prakrit literature. Rādhā was regarded as a common girl like other gopīs. But after the 12th century A.D. Kṛṣṇa as Gopāla became popular and has worshipped as God. Sāralā Dās was a pre-Chaitanya poet.

The same flow of religious faiths cited above continued in the sixteenth century A.D. maintaining the traditional aspects, which can be testified from the works of Achyutānanda Dās, Balarām Dās and other poets of the century.

Like Sāralā Dās, Balarām and Achyutānanda Dās as the writers of Rāmāyaṇa and Harivaṁsa respectively have given a vivid picture of the socio-religious life of

Orissa. In *Brahmāndabhugola*, an unpublished work, Balarām Dās mentioned a number of religious sects. According to him there were different classes of ascetics such as vaiṣṇavas[14], tāntrikas[15], nāthayogis and perhaps Kavirpanthis. He says that these groups of people due to their difference in ethics and philosophy, lead life in different ways. They roam carelessly in this world, wearing various types of dresses and sectarian marks.[16] He has nicely described everyday life of these *sannyāsis* belonging to various religious sects. The people of these religious group learn different subjects such as Hindu scriptures, grammar, astrology in order to spread their influence. They pose differently at different times.[17] He says some eat fruits, some go to take bathe in the holy rivers, some do not sleep, but they were not true to their religion. From his description of the yogis, it is evident that these so-called sannyāsis pose themselves as devout saints but they always cheat peoples.

According to Balarām Dās there are only two types of religions in the world. One is Buddhism and the other one Hinduism which is guided by the principles of Vedas. Under Hinduism he mentions gods like Śiva, Durgā, Viṣṇu, Jagannātha, Ganesh, Surya, Agni and other gods of the Hindu pantheon. Balarām Dās in his *Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa* describes Rāma as an ardent devotee of Śiva. The story stands as follows : Rāma during his exile looked for a Śivalinga everyday and getting one worshipped it. Sometimes it so happens that he instructed Lakshmana to search for one but when Lakshmana did not find one he brought one peace of stone, or a leaf which was readily available. It shows that it was necessary for Rāma to worship everyday. Similarly we can also find that Śiva was also a worshipper of Rāma and Rāma was a worshipper of the former. In the same book we can see that Śiva narrated the story of Rāma before Pārvati which testifies to the poets inclination towards Śaivaism. From the episode mentioned in his book one can safely conclude that Śiva worship was very much popular in Orissa. In *Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa* we can find a number of references to Śiva temples in the vicinity of river Prāchi. It was not possible for Balarām to ignore the popularity of Śiva and in order to give proper regard to common man's belief he has made Rāma a devotee of Śiva. He also has identified Śiva with Balabhadra of Puri. Balarām Dās was a vaiṣṇava, yet he had devotion for goddess like Laksmī, Durgā, Subhadrā. While invoking Subhadrā he had identified her with Durgā. In Āraṇyaka Kāṇḍa of *Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa* he has invoked Durgā in a specific way.[18] From this invocation, it can be said that he was not disinterested in the worshippers of Śiva and Śakti.

The other major work of the century is *Harivaṁsa* written by Achyutānanda Dās. Achyutānanda Dās, a vaiṣṇava poet of the 16th century A.D. and an associate of Chaitanya, has described in the above book many episodes of goddess Durgā. In this book he had also added many invocations to Durgā wherein he has narrated the story of her birth and her glory as a demon killer and protector of her worshippers.

sometimes she is described as one of the most powerful forces of the world. She is even more powerful than Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā and other gods. From all these descriptions it can be said that Achyuta, though a renowned vaiṣṇava of the century, was very tolerant to other religions. Achyutānanda in his *Śunyasamhitā* says that Prāchi valley was once a preaching centre of Buddhism. He refers to a number of Siddhāchāryas like Bāronga, Lohi and Virasinha who were renowned in their own field. In another book, named "*Sabdabrahmāndasamhitā*" or *Chārikhani* he refers to different religious groups which maintain their life by applying mantra, yantra, and medicine.[19] He has also described the nature of nāthayogis who leave homes for good and became inhabitant of other locality and lead lives of great austerity.

During this period, Jagannātha Dās, another devout follower of Chaitanya, has translated Bhāgavata in Oriya where Viṣṇu was regarded as the supreme, powerful of all gods. The love-episode of gopīs with Kṛṣṇa became more popular as a means of self-realisation which ultimately helped to gain salvation. Jagannātha Dās through his Oriya translation of Bhāgavata prepared the ground for love of Kṛṣṇa. As such the cult of love was regarded as the principal religious belief and consequently survived other religions. The popularity achieved more and more strength with the coming of Śrī Chaitanya to Orissa.

'*Rudrasudhānidhi*' by Nārāyaṇ Dās in the sixteenth century A.D. shows us more facts regarding socio-religious condition in Orissa during the period. In this book it is mentioned that various religious cults such as Śaiva, Śākta, and Tāntrik prevailed in Orissa during that period. The author has depicted another type of religious atmosphere which is quite different from the attitude of Achyuta and Balarām. The author was a profound devotee and worshipper of Śiva. He has given a vivid description of Śiva and his worshipper. He has invoked him with all possible names and attributes. He has also described the yoga practices of Śiva and Śākta worshippers vividly. But he has tried to prove that Viṣṇu is the supreme god and no yogi or kāpālika or śākta worshipper can do any harm to his devotees.

Yasovanta Dās, another devout vaiṣṇava of the century composed books on the legend of Gobinda Chandra which testifies to the popularity and prevalence of the Nātha cult in Orissa. The people of some yogi groups were expert in occult art. Their miraculous activities like walking on water and putting hand in the fire influenced the common people.

From the above description it is evident that there were during the period, many groups of people who maintain their livelihood, by pretending to be the devotees of one or the other sects. They had no concrete lesson for the people. Balarām Dās in his various books[20] says that these people are destined to face the horror of death in spite of their different pretentious activities.

It is also found that there were cultured people like Rāy Rāmānanda who preached Bhaktimārga. He was a great scholar and his '*Jagannāthaballavanātaka*'

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deals with the love aspect of Rādhā with Kṛṣṇa. So it is clear that premabhakti was prevalent before Chaitanya came to Orissa.

The ground on which Chaitanya preached his philosophy of love for Kṛṣṇa was prepared by all his associates before his arrival. In the context of prevailing chaotic condition, in Orissa during the 16th century A.D. the king 'Pratāparudradeva' also got disillusioned and became fervently influenced by the love for Kṛṣṇa. The arrival of Chaitanya at this stage gave a drop of nectar to the king and to all the devotees of Kṛṣṇa. The flow got impetus since then. The king's devotion for Kṛṣṇa can be proved by the inscription[21] which suggests that he only liked to hear devotional songs of Gītagobinda. He has contributed a lot for the benefit of the vaiṣṇavas.

RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE KING AND COUNTRY

The socio-religious condition of Orissa before the 16th century was mainly transitional and the influence of different religious sects had declined throughout the state. In spite of their differences in character and outlook they had assimilated into the single idea of bhakti.[22] According to C. R. Dās this was the period when Buddhism was declining, the tāntricism was fading away, vajrayān, mantra and sahajayānas only show that they were all branches of the same fundamental religious aspirations developed an idea of bhakti.[23] It is well known that the cult of vaiṣṇavism was prevalent in Orissa long before the arrival of Chaitanya at Puri, and influence on Pratāparudra created a congenial atmosphere for the popularity of Bhakti cult in Orissa. Pratāparudra's court was the venue for religious discussions in which many learned scholars of the time participated. When we analyse the development of bhakti cult in Orissa during the 16th century A.D. we can see that there were two groups of devotees in Orissa. One group consisted of Lolla Lakshmidhara, Kavi Karnapura, Jivadeva Āchārya, Godavara Rājaguru, Kāshi Miśra, Sārvabhouma Bhattācharya, Rāi Rāmānanda along with his father and brothers. These people were getting royal patronage. They were admirers of Chaitanya and his cult of love. They were holding important positions in the administrative set up and were also scholars of high repute. The leaders of this priviledged group such as Rāi Rāmānanda and others, by virtue of the posts they were holding, enjoyed full support from the king. They were also guides and advisers to the king. They had considerable influence on the courtlife of Pratāparudra. But as they were mainly scholars of Sanskrit, their influence on the people was limited and was felt only in the court. They had no influence on the common people of that age.

On the other hand, the group commonly known as 'pañchasakhā' were very popular among the people of Orissa. The term sakhā (literally means friends) is applied literally at the first instance, friends, and secondly to the friends of Chaitanya. They were also called pañchasākhā because they were preaching the cult of Jagannātha in 5 ways. They have preached the homogeneous idea of the bhakti in 5 ways or in 5 forms. The term 'pañchasakhā' as popularly known indicates close, intimate and personal terms of relationship with each other. They also taken together are known as 'Dāsa' (literally means servant) irrespective of their original castes and surnames. The sakhās were Balarām, Jagannātha, Achyuta, Yasovanta, and Ananta. References available in '*Śunyasamhitā*' and in *Chourāsi Ājñā* of Sudarsan Dās testify to the fact that Balarām was the eldest and Achyuta was the youngest. The pañchasakhās dedicated[24] their life for the spiritual upliftment of common people, wrote a number of books in the language of the people to preach their line of thought. There are no evidences to show that the pañchasakhās enjoyed any royal patronage. But they had reverence for common man contempt for rituals, apathy to professional priests, and they preached against castism and advocated the rights of the Sudras to read and write the Vedas and vedāntas. Present scholars like C. R. Dās opine that they, in fact, were one in their outlook, but never fell into any of the sectarian lines. Their lives always bore supreme originality which could not be traced out in any particular religious school.[25] There are a number of books which give valuable information about 'pañchasakhās' and their relationship with 'Śrī Chaitanya' and 'Pratāparudra'. The pañchasakhās and other religious leaders and poets of that age had no good relation with the king. They were common people, living a simple and easy life, outside the king's palace. As they were writing their books in the language of the people, they were very popular among the common people. Their popularity among the people was an eyesore to the learned pandits of the king's court. They were always envious of these popular leaders and were in habit of complaining against them before the king. Consequently, the popular leaders had to face many trials to show their knowledge of scriptures like the Gītā, the Vedānta, etc. There are a good number of books, in which, the incidents, of such trials of the 'pañchasakhās' were described.[26] The incidents showed in these books depict the king's relation with the 'pañchasakhās' which was not, of course, congenial. From the life history of Balarām Dās we come across a number of such incidents. In *Vedāntasāraguptagītā* he showed his ability to explain the Vedānta. In this book we find that the Brāhmiṇs were discussing Vedānta at Muktimaṇḍapa. Balarām Dās was brought before the king, Pratāparudradeva, because Balarām ventured to participate in the discussion. In the *Amarkoṣhagītā* we can see the change in Pratāparudra's mind. The king regarded the vaiṣṇavas.[27] In *Gītavakāsha*, he showed his knowledge of the Gītā. In Bhāvasamudra, *Batavakāsha*, and *Panasachori* his devotion towards Jagannātha had been shown. Though he was a known and popular man in Orissa as the famous writer of '*Jagamohana Rāmāyaṇa*' his successive trials proved that he was not liked by the learned paṇḍits of the court. Because of his devotion towards Jagannātha he could perform miraculous acts to protect himself from the hands of the paṇḍits. The same misfortune waited for Jagannātha Dās. Jagannātha Dās was also a devotee of Lord Jagannātha. His biographer, Divākar Dās says that he was an incarnation of Śrī Rādhā. Because of his divine attachment, two girls believed to be divine, came to serve him every day. This incident was intolerable to the paṇḍits of Orissa. They suspected his honesty and complained against him before the king. A trial had been arranged and Jagannātha Dās proved himself in the trial the devotee of the Lord. The biographer of Jagannātha Dās in *Jagannāthacharitāmṛta*' shows the relation of Chaitanya, with Jagannātha Dās, when he saw first at the age of 18. At that time he used to read the purāṇas under a banyan tree towards the southern enclosure of Jagannātha temple. When Chaitanya along with his companions came to that place, halted there. Chaitanya was pleased with the exposition of the purāṇas.[28]

In '*Śunyasamhitā*' of Achyutānanda Dās a number of such trials are mentioned. In *Chourāsi Ājñā* also we can see abundant instances which prove the suspicious relation of the king with 'pañchasakhās'. The author, in one case, says that he is not the servant of the king even not his tenant. He is an unknown man and just a traveller.[29] In the same book, in the Chapter 38 while speaking about Pratāparudra and Sārbabhouma he told that he was not a servant of Pratāparudra.[30] This shows that they had no good relation with the king. As they were friends to each other there were also incidents in which they had to face a trial jointly before the king. *Chourāsi Ājñā* describes one such trials. Before the trial had started the 'pañchasakhās' were called in. They were given the seed of jack-fruit. Jagannātha Dās had sown the seeds, within a few minutes the plant had grown out of seeds. Balarām had brought up the plant and afterwards Yasovanta brought the plant at flowering stage and fructified it. Thereafter Ananta had ripened the jack-fruit. Śrī Chaitanya was present. He distributed among the devotees.

In spite of all these oppositions they proved themselves the real religious leaders of Orissa. Till today the people of Orissa pay their homage to these '*Pañchasakhās*' and read their books with great love of devotion and lead a life of devotee on the principles described by the '*pañchasakhās*'.

Apart from the relation of Pratāparudra with '*pañchasakhā*' we can find out the relation between Chaitanya and the king. Though Chaitanya had refused to meet Pratāparudradeva at his first request yet during the later period the king developed cordial relation with him. In '*Chourāsi Ājñā*' the author says that Chaitanya was moving by placing his hands on the shoulders of Pratāparudradeva.[31] The king regarded Chaitanya and became a Chaitanya's profound devotee. The king had great regard and love for Chaitanya's teachings and preachings.

Besides these we can see also the immortal relation between Chaitanya and '*pañchasakhās*'. The *pañchasakhās* said that they were all friends of and servants to Chaitanya.[32]

MAṬHAS AND THEIR INFLUENCE

The religious leaders of that age belonged to various groups. These leaders used to live in a particular maṭha built specifically for the religious leaders of their group. These maṭhas were rest-houses for the leaders who came temporarily to worship Jagannātha at Puri. The intention behind the construction of these types of maṭhas was primarily to propagate the religious doctrine of their own and then to teach people in their own line. Gradually the number of followers increased. Every religious sect in Orissa has had its individual maṭha of their own throughout the state. There were total 452 maṭhas in Puri which belonged to different religious sects. The chief Śaiva maṭha is located near the Svargadwāra. There are also other maṭhas like Vaiṣṇava, Kavirpanthis, Sikhguru Nānaka etc. Among these maṭhas richest are Emār, Śrī Rāmadāsa, and Rāgavadasa, the inmates of which are known as Rāmāts or followers of Rāmānanda. Of the many Gouḍiya maṭhas the Uttarpārswa maṭha is one of the oldest and most highly esteemed, and is being permitted to supply a special bhoga (sacrifice) of Jagannātha, the mohanbhoga. Another maṭha is located in the Jagannāthaballava garden which is frequently mentioned in the biographies of Chaitanya. There are Sātalahari maṭha and Gopāla maṭha in the vicinity of Puri. It is a well known fact that Jagannātha Dās was once ordered by Pratāparudra to vacate his maṭha, where he was residing. Jagannātha refused to live within the jurisdiction of Pratāparudra's kingdom—as such by his occult knowledge he compelled the sea to recede to a distance of seven waves (Sāta lahari). In that extra-territorial plote of land he built Sātalahari maṭha where he died at the age of 60.

The other maṭha is Gopāla maṭha built by Achyutānanda who by demonstrating his occult power gained a plot of land near the mouth of the river Bānki at Puri. In this maṭha at Puri the cowherd caste perform their daily worship.

These maṭhas are not only boarding houses for pilgrims come to Puri at the time of various holidays. These are the places for the studying of scriptures. These maṭhas have to perform some social duties such as supplying of the food and providing shelter to people at the time when they visit Puri. These maṭhas used to send special 'bhoga' to Jagannātha. These maṭhas even now, are maintaining the tradition of preaching the spiritual ideas and scriptural discussions.

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yugatena rājā hoiba yebe krodhī
mandabristi huai samsaraku piḍai byādhi
nṛpati hoina yebe hoiba krodhakāri
santanhāni huain ye kaṇdharu chhaḍain sīrī
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sabadhāne khahanti nā samasta parajā
tāhānku rakshāpālan karuachhi nā nṛpati
yāgayajña heuchhi na sakala akriti—
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(ii) Parajā ṛāliva nohiba kehi dukkhi
Parajā pālileti rājā hoye sukhi
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(iii) tirtha annachhatra karaibu niti
asahaṇa bhumire thoimthibu senāpathi
gaja, aswa, nimante deimthibu abadhāna
guṇabanta bipranku karuthibu pujā
kabi janamananku ninda na karibu mahārājā.
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pratyaksha bara deyai se parama sādhabi
Śrī Sāralā chaṇḍi name se atai mahādevi
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Hari baudarupe basibe,

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antakāle kālikā tui seshaku hingule

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bhairabi chhinnamastā cha vidyā dhumabāti tathā
bagalā siddhavidyā cha mātangi kamalatmikā

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Vaisnave kale divyapujā // —Amarkoshgītā, Chap. VII.

28. Ehi samaye Śrī Chaitanya /
Sangate gheni sakhāgaṇa //
batataleṇa bije kale /
purāṇa śuni toṣa hele //
Divakar Dās, Jagannāth Charitāmṛta, Chap. II.

29. Sudarsan Dās, Chourāsi Ājñā, Chapter 36, padas No. 35-37.

30. Ibid, Chap. 38, padas No. 11-12.

31. Sudarsan Dās, Chourāsi Ājñā, Chapter 43, pada No. 20.

32. (i) Kaliyugare janma hele /
Chaitanya prabhu sanga mele //
Sudarsan Dās, Chourāsi Ājñā
(ii) Āmbhe pañchasakhā barabastra bhakta gheni /
bhramiṇa medini bulu prabhu ājñā māni //
Achyutānanda Dās, Śuṇyasambitā,

Chapter Three

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF BENGAL IN THE 16TH CENTURY A.D.—IMPACT OF MUSLIM INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY AND LITERATURE

SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF BENGAL IN THE 16TH CENTURY

Bengal had an inglorious political situation during the 16th century A.D. During that period the Muslims ruled over Bengal and spread their culture among the Hindus. Although the Muslim rule in India began in the 11th century, it came to Bengal in the 13th century during the reign of the last Hindu king, Ganesh.

Before the 16th century Bengal was purely ruled by foreign immigrants like Turks, Ārābs, Āfghans who were originally Muslims. But in course of time, these foreign rulers adopted themselves to the new environment and became thoroughly Indianized.

History tells us that during the 16th century A.D. four muslim dynasties ruled over Bengal. They were Husain Shāhi, Sher Shāh and the Surs, Kārrāni and Mughals. From 1493 A.D. to 1576 A.D. there were not less than 18 rulers in Bengal. But the political condition somewhat changed during the last twentyfive years of the century with the arrival of the Mughals. All these rulers were Muslims and were hostile to the Hindus. These rulers did not trust the Hindus and they had strong religious prejudices against the Hindus which passed on generation after generation. The Hindus could not expect any political status under Islamic rulers. In this regard, Sir J. N. Sarkār has justly remarked that the "poison lay in the Islamic theocracy. Under it there can be only one faith, one people and one all over riding authority. There can be no place for non-believers."[1] Many Muslim rulers were trying to exercise supremacy over Bengal. A number of battles among themselves were fought and a number of assassinations, frequent changes in the throne, disbelief among themselves created an atmosphere of anarchy "so that Bengal became the target of contemporary satire."[2]

Husain Shāh, the son of Sayyid Āsraf, a born Ārab, who possessed all these characteristics, occupied the throne of Gour in 1493 A.D. This dynasty ruled Bengal upto 1538 A.D. Thereafter Sher Shāh dynasty came to power and reigned upto 1564 A.D. The last Sultān of Sher dynasty was killed by Tāj Khān Kārrāni from whom the Kārrāni dynasty began to rule in 1564 A.D. Tāj Khān died within a year of his gaining the throne of Bengal which then passed into the hands of his brother Sulaimān, who had been already governing Bengal as his deputy.

Sulaimān Kārrāni reigned over Bengal for eight years (1565-1572 A.D.).

Scholars say that "Sher Shāh seized the capital of Bengal in June, 1538 A.D. and the last Āfghan ruler of the province yielded his kingdom to the Mughals in 1576 A.D.

This was the political development that occurred during the period under review. The entire sixteenth century had bitter experiences of social sufferings that come upon the Hindu society of Bengal. There was crisis in the socio-economic condition. The rule of anarchy and helplessness prevailed among the people. As all the kings were Muslims their hostility to Hindus never decreased rather it increased day by day. The Muslims kept their doors wide opon, as a result of which a large number of Hindus of lower castes entered into the fold of Islam for living a happy life.[3] Consequently the Muslims of Bengal grew in number by the conversion while the Hindus gradually thinned.[4] This lineage of political administration continued till the advent of the Mughals. During the period before the occupation of Bengal by the Mughals this state of affairs prevailed. As the country was ruled by aliens, both religious and racial repression and religious persecution of the Hindus continued. The Hindu temples had been converted into mosques in large numbers in the early days of Muslim rule, and instances of continued 'will to power' of the Islamic rulers, expressed in rigorous suppression or aggression of forced conversion and the like began to increase.[5] Naturally the socio-religious life was not wholly at ease. The people of Bengal during the period did not find any peace in mind. A state of confusion in the society prevailed for many years. The Hindus of the lower strata having no access into the upper classes converted themselves to Muslims in large numbers. The Hindu caste structure was mainly responsible for this rapid conversion. Scholars like M. T. Kennedy felt that within Hinduism itself the oppressive aspects of the caste system were not lacking.[6] There were no stability in ruling and in living. Sir J. N. Sarkār has also said that Bengal remained for many years a scene of confusion and anarchy.[7] In spite of these confusion among the people we can get a bright picture of Nabadwipa in '*Chaitanya Bhāgavata*', written by Brindāban Dās. Brindāban Dās in his book described the then social conditions and his views were refuted by later vaiṣṇava writers like Jayānanda and others. Dr. D. C. Sen has expressed about it correctly that 'the biographical literature of the vaiṣṇavas is as varied as it is rich and it gives us a graphic account of the history of Bengal society in the sixteenth and seventeenth century.'[8] To give a greater account of the social condition of Bengal during the sixteenth century '*Chaitanya Bhāgavata*' represents the views of the orthodox vaiṣṇavas and takes great pains to establish Chaitanya as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. This idea perhaps provoked him to describe the social condition in different colour. This book also enlightens us about the spirit of the time.[9] We can quote a few examples from the book to prove its veracity.

> "Hundreds of thousands of people bathe there in the Ganges everyday. Various races of people dwell in the city whose members may be counted

> by lakhs. There are hundred of scholars in it by the grace of Saraswati (goddess of Learning). There are many professors who are fond of displaying their learning. Peoples from various countries flock to the tols of Nabadwipa, and when they have finished their studies their education becomes complete."

Educational system during this period was different from that of the modern age. There were educational agencies like pāthasālas and Tols or private tutor schools. In those periods Nabadwipa was famous seat of learning. It became the nucleus of intense intellectual activities. A number of Tols was established there. These tols[10] gave the students shelter and free tution, and they got food either from him or from the shopkeepers and landlord or by begging.

Besides tols, pāthasālas were numerous in imparting elementary education. The students of tols, besides, academic debate and discussions took part in poetical symposia and kīrtans.[11] It appears that Brāhmiṇs had practically monopolised the teaching profession from very early times.[12] Since 1503 A.D. when the university of Nabadwipa was established, the Tattwachintāmani was much popularised in Bengal through the endeavours of the famous Raghunāth Śiromani and others.[13] Nadia was famous for the school of Navyanyāya.

But these educational system had failed completely to satisfy the needs of the common people. Caste rules became more and more stringent as kulinism was stereotyped. Better ideals of religion were upheld by the Brāhmiṇs, the gap between man and man was widened by restrictions. The lower strata of the society lived under the autocracy of the higher, who shut the portals of learning against the inferior classes. They were also debarred from having any access to and the religion became the monopoly of the upper classes.

Brindāban Dās, in his book *'Chaitanya Bhāgavata'* has described the social condition of Bengal. The Hindus of that time were busy in their personal gains. The behaviour was only extroneous, the worship of gods and goddesses were mainly the motivating principle of personal happiness and gain. Disintegration in social fibre, poor knowledge even among the teachers were very common in that age.[14]

The next biographical account of Chaitanyadeva which we have taken as the source of social information was written by Jayānanda. Jayānanda, the son of Subuddhi Misra, was born in 1513 A.D. He had seen Chaitanya.

Jayānanda's *'Chaitanyamaṅgala'* described vividly and with great objectivity the then socio-political condition of Bengal. This book also exhibited the plight of the Brāhmiṇs of Nabadwipa.[15] According to Jayānanda, king seized the Brāhmaṇas, polluted their castes, and often killed them. If a conchshell blow was heard in any house, its owner had to forfeit his wealth, caste and even life. The king plundered the houses of those who had wore sacred threads on the shoulders and put sacred marks on their forehead, and then bound them. He broke the temples, and uprooted Tulsi plants and the residents of Nabadwipa were in perpetual fear. Bathing in the Ganges were forbidden and hundred of sacred Aswatha and jack trees were cut down.[16] Jayānanda, in his book, has predicted that the throne of Gour would be occupied by a Brāhmiṇ who would drive away the Pāthāns. This prophecy made the Sultān frightened and he commanded his feudals to destroy and devastate Nadia and its surroundings. It was in the village Pirulyā where the Pāthān army encamped and carried on oppressions on the neighbouring localities, converting all the Hindus to Islam by force. Wherever a Banyon tree—hold sacred by the Hindus, was located the Pāthāns ordered the soldiers to cut it down. In this way hundreds of these trees were destroyed. The same fate fell on the sacred Tulsi plants. The temples were broken and their idols desecreted.

Jayānanda describes that inhabitants of Nadia were at this time skilled archers so that Husain Shāh became actually frightened by the prophecy.[17] The author described with great pain that these Muslims ruined the Brāhmiṇ families of Nadia. As a result, a considerable number of Brāhmiṇs left Nadia and took shelter in the neighbouring state Orissa. Among them Vāsudeva Sārbabhouma, according to some scholars, left Nadia with his family and settled in Orissa.[18]

Another important biography of Chaitanyadeva is "*Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*" written by Krishnadās Kavirāja in the sixteenth century and it discloses the same tales of religious bigotry of the Muslims and their consequent persecution of the Hindus. The oppressions were not only confined to Bengal. It extended to the neighbouring state Orissa.[19] It is also mentioned in this book that Sanātan refused to accompany Husain Sāha in his invasion of Orissa.[20] The author also refers to casual instances of constant oppression on the Hindus of Nadia. The Hindus had to live a life of perpetual dread of religious bigotry and intolerance of the Muslims.[21]

Besides this biographical literature, we find in other literary works of that age the same social-political conditions. Vijaygupta, admirer of Husain Sāha, wrote in his famous book '*Padmapurāṇa*' the gruesome picture of the oppressions on the Hindus by the administrator.[22] According to Vijaygupta, Muslims polluted the religion of the Hindus everyday. They break the images of the gods into pieces and throw away articles of worship. They throw away Śrīmadbhāgavat and other holy scriptures and forcibly took away the conchshell and the bell of the Brāhmaṇas. They urinated like dogs on the sacred Tulsi plants and deliberately passed faces on the Hindu temples.[23]

Īsāna Nāgara, another contemporary Bengali writer, described the same pathetic scene of the Hindu community under the rule of Husain Sāha.

So we find that people during the period had no peace of mind and stability in administration. Out of this chaos and confusion and uncertainity during this period emerged a new awareness among the people of religious devotion and dedication and this new spirit gave them solace and comfort.

Time was already ripe for the resurgence of a new culture, a democratic way of life and a faith which could reconcile all the discordant elements into a single focus; and the advent of Chaitanya was heralded as the beginning of a new epoch.

Apart from the Hindus who soon became the disciple of Chaitanya, some Muslim Sultāns of Bengal felt the importance of *Kīrtan* and accepted the cult of love which Śrī Chaitanya embodied with a great zeal.

RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF BENGAL IN 16TH CENTURY

The religious condition of Bengal during the 16th century was almost similar to that of Orissa during the same period. The pre-Chaitanya religious condition of Bengal in the 15th and 16th centuries was as varied as in Orissa. There were a number of sub-religions which had grown out of the Hinduism.

At the time of the arrival of Muslims in Bengal, the Buddhism was undergoing a complete change. Rāmachandra Kavibhārati, a renowned Buddhist monk left Bengal in the 13th century and settled in Ceylon. In the biography of Chaitanyadeva, it is stated that Chaitanya and his follower, Nityānanda defeated many Buddhist in logical debates which testifies to the fact that the Buddhism was in decline. But among the lower strata of society the influence of Sahajiyā Bouddha was felt. The early Bengali literature, according to scholars, deals with the religious doctrines and practices of Sahajiyā Buddhists. This Sahajiyā Buddhism is a particular development of a phase of later Buddhism commonly known as Tāntrik Buddhism. These types of decadent Buddhistic forms gained popularity in Bengal and many tāntrik texts were written prior to 16th century.

When Buddhism declined in India, and Hinduism had not risen in its fullness of glory mystic rituals of Tāntricism influenced Buddhistic and Hindu communities all over India. From pretty old time the Bāmāchāri Tāntrics perpetrated wanton crimes in the name of religion which is corroborated in the literature they have left us.

Buddhist Sahajiyā cult was also in vogue owed its origin to the Bāmāchāri Buddhist. In course of time, these practices, when associated with the theological ideas of the Śaivas and the Śāktas, have given rise to Śaiva and Śākta Tāntricism; and when associated with the Budhistic speculations have given rise to Buddhist Tāntricism; and again when associated with the speculations of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism have given birth to Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā movement.[24]

So it is evident that Bengal prior to and during the 16th century were dominated by different Sahajiyā movements, besides other principal religions.

The Sahajiyā mendicants, in the long run, were known as Neḍa and consequently formed a community of Neḍa. Ultimately, they got an entrance into the Vaiṣṇava society by the help of Nityānanda and his son, Birabhadra.[25]

At the time of Chaitanya's birth the religious life in Bengal was at a low ebb. The worship of local deities was hardly above the ammistic stage and was strongly entrenched in every village without any opposition. During the period under review we have seen that Śāktaism, Tāntricism eclipsed almost all the Hindu society of Bengal. Indologists view that Śākta cult was prominent in Bengal. Bengal, according to Winternitz was the mother land of Tantra.[26] In supporting Winternitz, R. P. Chanda says that the birth of Tantra was in Bengal, Bihār, and Mithilā, its growth in Maharāstra, and death in Gurjar.[27] The Tāntricism was not a new faith in the Bengal society. It has had its influence in the entire eastern India in general and but it got its impetus in Bengal. Assam is even today a stronghold of Tāntrik rituals. The popularity of Tāntricism began during the 14th century when MM. Paribrājakāchārya wrote '*Kamyayantraddhara*'. There were many famous tāntrik pandits like Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamabagish, Brahmānanda Giri, Paramānanda Giri who existed during the middle part of the 16th century. The popularity of different Śākta works such as '*Śrītattwachintāmani*', '*Śāktakarma*', '*Śyamarahasya*', '*Sātkarmollas*' has not declined from the Hindu society of Bengal. Gourśankar, Mathuresh Vidyālankar were renowned Tāntrik gurus (initiator) who lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The above personalities were all Brāhmiṇs which proves that the Śākta worship and Tantrāchar were in practice among the orthodox Brāhmiṇs of Bengal.

The common people were not away from the influences of Śākta and Tantra because of their unnatural principles and tenets. In the name of Tantra, the people of the 16th century has witnessed anti-social and anti-human activities. The influence spread like contagious diseases over Vaiṣṇava society in Bengal as a result of which '*Rādhātantra*' was written. In this regard, Farquhar also says about the different forms of goddesses worshipped during the period. He says that "the sect of Durgā is now recognized with a new theology, a more varied cult and a fresh literature. It is called the Śākta cult."[28]

The cults of aboriginal origins such as those of Manasā Debi (serpent goddess), Dharma Thākur, Dakshin Rāi (The tiger god), Chandi and many other attached to the Śākta cult were widely prevalent during the time under study.

This degrading picture of contemporary society can also be seen in the biographies of Chaitanyadeva written in the sixteenth century and after. According to Dr. S. K. De, "there can be no doubt that there was a lamentable decadence of religious life and ideals in Bengal. The tyranny of an alien rule was aggravated by the greater social tyranny of dominant Brāhmaṇism with its practice and despotic spirit."[29] In '*Narottomavilāsa*' we can see that human mind in Bengal after long ages of scepticism and mystic Tāntrik rites confounded and stapified by supernatural feats. The author, Narahari Chakravarty, has described the horrors of Tāntricism. Their modes of behaviour, life, and the development they had brought about change in the minds of the Hindus of that age. Another trustworthy account is '*Chaitanya Chandrodayanātaka*' written by Kavikarnapura, also gives us vivid description of the religious conditions prevailing during the time of Mohammadan dominition in Bengal. It refers to the role of false sannyāsis, of Pantheists, who had no faith on other gods but their own shelves of Kapalikas both Buddhist and Śaivites.[30] Other principal biographies of Chaitanyadeva—'*Chaitanyamaṅgala*', '*Chaitanya Bhāgavata*' and '*Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*' reveal the then religious condition of the society.[31] With the advent of Śrī Chaitanya the difference between the Brāhmiṇs and the Śudras became weak. Tāntriks vainly endeavoured with the help of human corpses, wine and woman to gain religious superiority. Śaktipujā like that of the Durgā and Kāli was quite a perpetual occurrence which some people found mental consolation during their precarious religious condition.[32] Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj in his book '*Chaitanya Charitāmṛta*' has mentioned the religious attitude of the people and society. Thus we find that Buddhism and Śāktaism along with their various offshoots were prevalent which eclipsed the social atmosphere of that period.

In the same period we have seen another school of Tantra, Bāmāchārin discipline which left behind a mystic idea of female principle in the universe and provided erotic possibilities for Vaiṣṇavism. The other groups such as Vikshu and Vikshunis of the Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna orders of decedent Buddhist were also absorbed into current Hinduism. They provided a degenerating effect on the religious condition of medieval Bengal. The tenets and practices of the Bāmāchāri School, the mystic and semi-mystic cults like Sahajayāna exercised a decaying influence on religious life and thought of the people.

Apart from their confused ideas and mysterious rites, all these cults, according to Dr. S. K. De, encouraged "a mixture of mystical metaphysics, emotionalism and sensuality"[33] ; and if we judge them from contemporary vaiṣṇava record we can find hardly any spiritual or aesthetic influence on the religious life of Bengal. Every religious belief prevailed during the period had no solid basis of their own as such the people of Bengal had a leaning towards these hybrid cults.

Another obscure religious cult which dominated the period was Nāthism. The origin of Nātha movement in Bengal which was a compromise between Śaivism and Buddhism was intimately connected with other provinces of India and also in the Himalayan regions like Nepal and India. The Nātha cult is essentially a Śaivite cult, which in course of its evolution was assimilated within esoteric Buddhism.[34] However, the literature is found in Bengal, is in the form of songs. *Mayanāmatir gān*, *Gopī Chandrera gān*, *Goroksha vijaya*, are very popular among the *Nātha Sampradāya.* The influence was so popular that people of other communities devoted themselves to this cult because of the moral virtues. They have a high regard for their leaders and gurus whom they respect more than even the gods of Heaven. But in course of time this cult assimilated into the Hinduism, Apart from Nātha cult, Dharma cult is another important folk-cult that influenced large number of people of western Bengal in the 16th century. This cult was co-extensive with Nātha creed and having the same points of similarity. The central member of Buddhist Triratna—Buddha, Dharma and Sangha—gave birth to a new Hindu god, Dharma, whose worship spread abroad and produced an important literature. This Dharma cult is a local cult of Western Bengal and is prevalent even in the present days. It was very popular and current among the low class of people like the Hāḍis, Doma, Chandāla, Bāgdis, Fishermen, Carpenters and the like. It is also found from the Archaeological records made by N. N. Basu that similar ideas and practices were in vogue in some parts of Orissa, particularly in Mayurbhanja and its vicinities.[35] The religious differences among the Hindus in the sixteenth century had been crystalized due to influence of various obscure religious faiths and cults. Gradually the prevailing religious faiths based on vedic and post-vedic religions lost their power and influence over the people, which followed by an age of spiritual disintegration and stagnation.

The old faith was being replaced by either Hinduism or a strange mixture of many cults like Buddhists, *Sahajiyā*, Śaiva, and Tāntrik. Hinduism, later on, led by the orthodox Brāhmiṇs reached at their climax of caste differences and image worship. Sanskrit was then only medium of expression and instruction and naturally discouraged the language of common people. Side by side some concentrated their energies and ideas on *pourānic* idea and old cults based on vedic scriptures and tried to preserve the old social order with the help of the Smritis.

The class and caste structure of the then Bengal was unique and had no parallel in other communities of the world. There were many castes prevalent in the society. The castes were mainly based on professions and the differences increased considerably as a result of which the people of the lower strata suffered a lot in safeguarding their social life.

In Bengal, during the period, we find that due to Muslim rule the social oppressions on the Hindus were inevitable but in Orissa, though there was no Muhammadan ruler, the differences in between the people of upper classes such as Brāhmiṇs and the lower classes, the oppressions were unending. As Bengal the Hinduism suffered a lot in the hands of Muslims so in Orissa it suffered in the hands of the Brāhmiṇs. These differences gradually widened and finally created an environment of anarchy and disbelief.

However, we find that the religious life as well as religious history of Bengal during the period under review was very peculiar in its character. 'Religion', says Brindāban Dās, "was reduced to a mere form, and there was no faith in men."[36]

Bengal during the period under study could not be away or avoid the caste tradition. Cn the contrary the dominant Brāhmaṇism with its orthodox dogmas added fuel to the prevailing differences.

In the midst of these prevailing chaotic condition, a personality like Chaitanya appeared to alleviate the sufferings of the people. His appearance gave a boosting up to the sagging spirit of the people.

Sir J. N. Sarkār has said that "the renaissance which took place early in the nineteenth century due to the British intervention had a precursor—a faint glimmer of dawn no doubt two hundred and fifty years earlier"[37], and it became possible with the arrival of Śrī Chaitanyadev.

IMPACT OF MUSLIM INFLUENCE ON SOCIETY AND LITERATURE

Due to strong caste system in which the lower classes of people could not enjoy advantages in the class structure, they turned to Islam and the Muslims took advantage of this situation and converted them into their religion. The new-comers kept their door wide open. They admitted everything, even pushed people inside it. The result was that the Hindus belonging to lower ranks entered in great number. They found a compromising atmosphere in the fold of Islam. Some of them took the new religion voluntarily, others accepted it to avoid the traditional torture of the upper castes.

So far as the influence of Muslim rule and administration is concerned there was give and take principle among both the communities. The Muslims were partially different from the Greeks, the Śakas, and Huns who were completely absorbed within the fold of Indian civilization. The assimilative potentiality of Indian culture did not provide full authority to the Muslims, but both the communities were influenced mutually.[38] The effect of Muslim intercourse with the Hindu population appeared early in the history of Hindu sects in Bengal. With the advent of Islamic rule in Bengal Brāhmaṇism was suppressed to a great extent.[39]

The impact of the influence of Muslim on society and literature was numerous. The literature of that period supports the influence of Muslim interference. The '*Śunya-Purāṇa*' of Rāmāi Paṇḍit reveals the struggle between the Muhammadans and the Brāhmaṇas at Jājpur. The patronage by the Muslim rulers of the period under study was most congenial for the development of the local language and literature. The Muslim rulers of Bengal appointed scholars to translate the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata from Sanskrit into Bengali which they spoke and understood. The translation of the Mahābhārata was undertaken at the order of Nāsirshāh who ruled Gour till 1325 A.D. Vidyāpati, the celebrated poet dedicated his songs to Nāsirshāh and spoke with admiration of Ghiyāsuddin. Rāj Khān whose successor became a convert to Islam patronised Krittibās, the translator of Rāmāyaṇa. The Bhāgavata was translated under the patronage of the emperor Husain Sāha. Mālādhar Basu, the translator of Bhāgavata, received the title of Gunrāj Khān. Husain Sāha's general, Parāgal Khān had another translation of the Mahābhārata made by

Kavindra Parameswara. Parāgal Khān's son, Chhati Khān, employed Śrīkar Nandi for translating the Aśwamedha Parva of the Mahābhārata. Ālaol, a Muslim, translated Mālik Muhammad Ja'ise's Hindi Padmābati into Bengali as well as some Persian work. Thus we find that Muhammadan rulers and chiefs initiated and patronised translations of Sanskrit and Persian works into Bengali. Instances of like nature are numerous and mentioned above and led to a practice of appointing poets and scholars into the court of Hindu kings, after the example of the Muslim chiefs.

The interaction between Hindus and Muslims produced curious syncratic cults and practices. The Hindus offered sweets at Muslim shrines and Muslims responded with similar acts of mutual understandings. The spirit of mutual toleration found expression in the growing veneration of the Hindus for the Muslims saints, and a corresponding Muslim practice of regarding Hindu saints and it ultimately led to the common worship of Satyapīra (The true saint). It could be possible due to the feeling of friendliness among the two communities that the conversion of Hindus to the Muslim fold and re-conversion of Muslims to their original faith. The emperor of Gouḍa, Husain Sāha, perhaps, was the originator of this common cult. As such vernaculars got impetus of development by translating into various languages of the common people. The court of Husain Sāha was the assembly of learned scholar of Hindu community. In every branch of knowledge like Philosophy, Sciences, Medicine and Astrology, they borrowed from each other. We find in the field of linguistic that a current of synthesis was stimulating the vernacular of both the communities. As a result of which in administration and in literary field sanskritic words were replaced gradually by the Arabic and Persian words. Some Muslims wrote in vernaculars as Mālik Muhammad Zāyasi who wrote on Padmini; and Hindus on Islamic traditions like as Rāi Bhanamal. Āmir Khusrov was known as the author of some Hindi books. This current of assimilation between the two cultures led also to the springing up of new styles of art, architecture and music[40] – in which the basic element remained the old Hindu, but the finish and the outward form became Persian.[41] Thus we find that Muslim cultures gave eminence in languages, literatures, fine arts, historiography and administration. It is said that Islam transferred India's spiritual energy to the sphere of material development and administration. As such they helped each other in transplanting the customs of the one to the fold of the other. In the political field, we have seen, the spirit of harmony and cooperation was present. In the administrative and in the social atmosphere Muslim rulers appointed a large number of Hindus who by virtue of their power and position gave great impetus to the development of Indian literature in different parts of India. In Bengal, during the period, we find a series of literatures that come out. Before the arrival of Muslim invadors orthodox scholars wrote in Sanskrit but the religious reformers, who found field to preach their philosophy due to Islamic oppression, wrote in the vernaculars easily understandable by the people for the uneducated masses. Husain Shāh employed many Hindu officers and scholars, most prominent among them were Purandar Khān, Rūpa and Sanātan.[42]

During the period, we have found that a series of literary works written in vernaculars. About 1532 A.D. Rūpa Goswāmi wrote *Bidagdha-Mādhava* and *Lalita Mādhava* in Sanskrit. Smṛti and grammatical works flourished during the time in Bengal. Padmanāva Datta, Vidyāpati Upādhyaya and Raghunandan were all renowned for their literary activities. In fact different aspects of life—arts and crafts, music and painting, the styles of building, in dress and custom, in games and sports the influences were noticed in greater number.

The simple faith and the democratic ideals of Islam infringed upon the society ultimately produced a ferment which was focussed by also Chaitanya. Chaitanya's love for all prepared the foundation for a synthesis of different sects. The Muslim rulers identified themselves completely with the people of the land.

To sum up, the influence of Muslim culture on Bengal during the 16th century helped a great deal in the preachings of Śrīchaitanya. The ground was already prepared in literature, art, architecture, education etc. which were kind of synthesis between two cultures, the Hindu and the Muslim. Out of this assimilation a new outlook developed which helped in the spread of Vaiṣṇavism.

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3. Dr. R. C. Mazumdar, The History and Culture of Indian People, Vol. V, The Struggle for Empire, (1st ed.), Bombay : Bharatiya Vidya Bhaban, 1957, p. 498.
4. Ibid., Vol. V, The Struggle for Empire (2nd ed.), 1966, p. 498.
5. Murray T. Titmus, Indian Islam, London : Humphrey Milford, 1930, p. 30 ; See also, Hindi Sahitya ka Brihat Itihas (16th century), Vol. IV, Bhaktikala (Nirguna bhakti), era 1400-1600 A.D., edited by Parusuram Chaturvedi, Varanasi : Nagiri Pracharani Sabha, 2025 Bikram era, p. 63.
6. M. T. Kennedy, The Religious Life of India : The Chaitanya Movement, a study of Vaisnavism of Bengal, Calcutta : Association Press, 1925, pp. 1-2.
7. Sir J. N. Sarkar, History of Bengal (2nd ed.), p. 193.
8. D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, (2nd ed.), Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1954, p. 385.

9. Brindāban Dās, Sri Chaitanya Bhāgavat, Ādi Kānda, (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Gouḍiya Math, 1936, Chapter II, p. 15 and pp. 63-67 ; See also, Sir D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Calcutta University Press, 1954, p. 359, The lines stand such :

"Ramā dṛstipāte sarva loka sukhe baise
byārtha kāl yāya mātra byābahār rase
dharma karma loka sav ei mātra jane
mangal chandir geeta kare jāgarane
dambha kari bisahari puje kon jan
puttali karaye keha diyā bahu dhan.

10. F. E. Kacy, Ancient Indian Education, Oxford University Press, London : Humphrey Milford, 1918, p. 53 ; See also, Brindāban Dās, Sri Chaitanya Bhāgavat, Calcutta : Hariram Prachar Samity, 1954, p. 83.

11. Brindāban Dās, Śri Chaitanya Bhāgavat, Calcutta ; Hariram Prachar Samity, 1954, p. 125.

12. Santosh Kumar Dās, The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus, Calcutta : 1931, pp. 116-117 ; See also, R. K. Mookerjee, Ancient Indian Education, (2nd ed.), London : 1951, p. 599 ; Also refer Chaitanya Bhāgavat (6th ed.), Published by Sucharu Kānti Ghosh, Calcutta : Patrika House, 1948, p. 31.

13. Satish Chandra Vidyābhusan, A History of Indian Logic, Calcutta : Calcutta University Press, 1921, p. 405 ; See also, A. K. Bandyopadhyaya, Bangla Sahityer Itibritta, (1st ed.), Calcutta : Modern Book Agency, 1959, Vol. II, p. 49.

14. Brindāban Dās, Śrī Chaitanya Bhāgavat (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Gouḍiya Math, Ādi Kānda, Chapter II, pp. 63-67.

(i) dhana nasta kare keha putra kanyār bibhāya
ei mata jagatera byārtha kāla yāya
yeba bhattācharya chakravarty mishra saba
tahārao nā jānaye grantha anubhaba.

(ii) dambha kari bisahari puje kona jan
puttali karaye keha diyā bahu dhan
bāsuli pujaye keha nānā upahāre
madya mānsa diyā keha jajña pujā kare
nirabadhi nṛtyageeta bādya kolāhala

(iii) sāstra paḍāiyā sabe ehi karma kare
srotār sahite yama pāse dube mare

** ** **

yebā saba birakta tapaswi abhimāni
tān sabār mukheha nāhika haridhwani.

15. Piralyā gramete baise yateka yaban /
uchchhanna karila Nabadwiper brāhman //
bisam piralyā grame Nabadwiper kāchhe /
brāhmane yabane bād yuge yuge āchhe //
Goureswar bidyamane dilā mithyāvād /
Nabadwiper bipra tomār karibe pramād //
ei mithyā kāthā rājār manete lagilā /
Nadiya uchchhanna kara rājā ajña dilā //

Chaitanya Mangal, Nadia Khanda, See also, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, History and Culture of Indian People, The Sultanate of Delhi, Bombay : Bharatiya Bidya Bhaban, Vol. VI, 1967, p. 633.

16. Aswattha panasa bṛksha kāte sāta sata /
Gangājal birodhila hāt ghāt yata //

Chaitanya Mangal, Nadia Khanda.

17. nirabadhi dāka churi arista dekhiyā /
nānādese sarbalok gela palāiyā //
āchambite nabadwipe haila rājabhay /
brāhman dhariyā rājā jāti prān lay //
nabadwipe Sankhadhwani suni yār ghare /
dhana prān lay tār jāti nās kare //
kapāle tilak dekhe yajñasutra kāndhe /
ghar dwār lote tār louha pāse bāndhe //
deul dehara bhānge upāre tulsi /
prān bhaye sthir nāhe nabadwipabāsi //

Chaitanya Mangal, Nadia Khanda, published by Bangiya Sahitya Parisad, p. 1164.

18. (i) Nadia uchchhanna kare rājā ājñā dila //
bisāradsut sārbabhouma bhattācharya /
swayan utkale gelā chhāri gour rājya //
tār bhrāta vidyāvāsaspati gourabāsi /
bisārad nibās karilā vārānasi //

Chaitanya Mangal, Nadia Khanda

(ii) yāhār māthay dekhe tulsir pāt /
hāte gale bāndhi-ney kājir sākshāt //
ye ye brāhmaner paitā dekhe tār skandhe /
peyadā betā lag pāile tār galāya bāndhe //

See also, Vijay Gupta, Padma Purāṇa, ed. by Basanta Kumar Bhattācharya, Calcutta : Bāni Niketan, 1938 ; A. K. Bandyopadhyaya, Bānglā Sāhityer Itibritta, Calcutta : Modern Book Agency, Vol. II, p. 29.

19. Hena kale chalilā rājā oḍiya mārite /
Sanātane kahe tumi chala mor sāthe //
tihon kahe tumi yābe devatā duhkha dite /
mor sakti nāhi tomār sangete yāite //
tabe tāre bāndi rākhi karilā gaman /

Chaitanya Charitamṛta, Madhya līlā, Chapter 19, Padas 27-29.

20. See also above quotation ; Also see, Vṛndāban Dās, Chaitanya Bhāgavata, Chapter III, Calcutta : Harinam Prachār Samiti, 1954, pp. 65-70.

(i) ye Husan Sāha sarba Oḍiyār dese /
devamurti bhāngilek deula bisese //

(ii) Ouḍradese koti koti pratimā prasād /
bhāngileka kata kata karilā prasād //

21. Sri Chaitanya Charitamṛta, Madhya līlā, Chapter II, Pada 15-16.

Madyapa yaban rājer āge adhikār
tār bhaye pathe keha nāre chalibār //

See also, Vṛndāban Dās, Chaitanya Bhāgavat, Chapter II, Calcutta : Harinām Prachār Samity, 1954, pp. 70-72.

> Se rājye ekhan keho patha nāhi bay //
> Dui rājāy haiāchhe atyanta bibād /
> mahāyuddha sthāne sthāne parama pramād //

Also see : Dr. R. C. Majumdār, History and Culture of Indian People, Sultanate of Delhi, (2nd ed.), Bombay : Bharatiya Bidyā Bhavan, 1957, p. 633.

22. Vijay Gupta, Padmapurāṇ, edited by Basanta Kumār Bhattācharya, Calcutta : Bāni Niketan, 1938, pp. 123-125. See also : D. C. Sen, Chaitanya and His Age, Calcutta : Viswakosh Press, 1922, pp. 53-55.
23. Adwaita Prakasa, Chapter IX, page 39, See also ; Dr. D. C. Sen, Chaitanya and His Age, Calcutta : Viswakosh Press, 1922, p. 53 ; Also see : Dr. R. C. Majumdār, History and Culture of Indian People, Sultanate of Delhi, Vol. VI, 2nd ed., Bombay : Bharatiya Bidya Bhaban, 1957, pp. 632-633.
24. Dr. S. B. Dasgupta, Obscure Religious Cults, 2nd ed., Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1962, introductory pages XXXIV ; See also, Pandit P. Chaturvedi, Hindi Sāhitya Kā Bṛhat Itihas, 16th century, Vol. IV, Bhakti kāl (Nirgun Bhakti) 1400 A.D.—1700 A.D., Varanasi : Nāgari Prachārini Sabhā, 2025 Vkr. Abda, pp. 31-33.
25. Dr. A. K. Bandyopadhyaya, Bangala Sahityer Itibritta, 2nd Vol., Chaitanya Yuga (1493 A.D.—1605 A.D.) 2nd ed., Calcutta : Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., 1966, page 38.
26. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol. I.
27. J. N. Farquhar, An Outline of the Religious Literature of India, Oxford Univ. Press, Indian edition, 1967, Delhi : Motilal Banarasidās, page 179 ; See also, R. P. Chanda, Indo Aryan Races, pp. 130-131 ; Also see, Dr. A. K. Bandyopadhyaya, Bangla Sahityera Itibritta, Vol. II, Chaitanya Yuga (1493-1605 A D.). 2nd ed., Calcutta : Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., 1966, p. 45.
28. Ibid., pp. 179-181.
29. Dr. S. K. De, Early History of Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal (from Sanskrit and Bengali Sources), (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1961, page 78 ; See also, D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Calcutta University, 1925, p. 358.
30. Paramananda Sen (Kavi Karnapura), Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka, ed. by Acharya Rām Chandra Misra, Varanasi : Choukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966 ; See also, Narahari Chakravarty, Narottamvilās, Canto VII : The quotation stands as :

> Karaye kukriyā yata ke kahite pāre /
> chhāga mesha mahisa sonita ghare ghare//
> keha keha mānusera kāta munda laiyā/
> khaḍga kare karaye nartan matta haiyā//
> se samaye keba yadi sei pathe yāya/
> haileo bipra tār patha nā edāya//
> sabhe stri-lampata yāti bichāra rahita/
> madya mānsa bine nā bhunjaye kadāchita//

31. Kriṣṇadās Kavirāja, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, ed. by Upendra Nath Mukhopadhyaya, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sahitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Ādi Khanda, Chapter 17, pp. 70-71.

The quotation stands as follows :

Ekdin bipra nāma gopāla chapala/
pāsandi pradhan sei durmukh bāchal//
bhabānipujar saba sāmagri laiyā/
rātre Sribāser dwāre sthān lepiyā//
kalār pāt upāre thuilā oḍaphul/
haridrā sindur raktachandan tandul//
madyabhānda pāse dhari nija ghare gelā/
prathakale Sribas āsi tābā ta dekhila//

See also, quotations given at references Nos. 14, 17 & 18.

32. Brindāban Dās, Śrī Chaitanya Bhāgavat, (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Gouḍiya Math, Adi Khanda, Chapter II, pp. 63-67. More quotations may be cited :

(i) sarba Nabadwipa bhrame bhāgavatagan/
kotha a na sune bhaktiyogera kathan//
kemane ei jiba saba pāibe uddhār/
bisaya sukhete saba majila sansār//
anna bhālamate karana ruchaye mukhe/
jagatera byabahār dekhi paya duhkha//

(ii na sunaye kṛṣṇa nāma parama mangal
balileyo keha nahi laya kṛṣṇa nāma
nirabadhi bidyakula karena byākhyān
kṛṣṇanāma bhaktisunya sakal sansār
pratham kalite haila bhabisya adhara

(iii) Gītābhagavat ye ye janete padaya
bhaktir byākhān nāhi tāhār jihbaya
sakal sānsār matta byabahār rase
kṛṣṇapuja kṛṣṇabhakti karo nāhi bāse

Also see, Śrī Chaitanya Bhāgavat ed. by Atul Goswāmi, Ādi Khanda, Chapter II, pp. 16-19 ; See also, D. C. Sen, Bangabhasa O Sahitya (8th edn.), Calcutta : Das Gupta and Co., 1353 B.S., p. 207.

33. Dr. S. K. De, Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal (from Sanskrit and Bengal sources), (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1961, p. 26.

34. Dr. S. B. Das Gupta, Obscure Religious Cults, (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1962, p. 192.

35. Ibid, p. 261, See also, N. N. Basu, Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa, pp. 126-130.

36. Dr. S. K. De, Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal (from Sanskrit and Bengali sources), (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1962, p. 29 ; See also, D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Calcutta University, 1954, p. 310.

37. Sir J. N. Sarkār, History of Bengal, Vol. II ; See also, Dr. A. K. Bandyopadhyaya, Bangla Sahityer Itibritta, 2nd Vol., Chaitanya Yuga (1493 A.D.—1605 A.D.), 2nd ed., Calcutta : Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., 1966, p. 2.

38. The Cultural Heritage of India ed. by Kalidas Bhattacharya, Vol. IV, Religion (2nd revised edition), Calcutta : Ramkrishna Mission Institute of Culture, 1967, pp. 374 ; See also, History

and Culture of Indian People, edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. V, The Struggle for Empire, (1st edition), Bombay : Bharatiya Bidya Bhaban, 1957, pp. 495-498 ; Also see, Dr. K. P. Sahu, North Indian Social Life, Calcutta : Punthi Pustak, 1963, pp. 15-20.

3u. Tara Chand, Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, Allahabad : Indian Press (Publishers) Ltd., 1954, p. 213.

40. Dr. R. C. Majumdar and others, Advanced History of India, (3rd edition), Calcutta : Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1974, pp. 394-396 ; See also, K. D. Bhargava, A Survey of Islamic Culture and Institutions, Allahabad ; Kitabmahal, 1961, pp. 242-245 ; Also see, B. K. Sahaya, Education and Learning under the Great Mughals, Bombay : New Literary Publishing Co., pp. 143-145.

41. The History and Culture of Indian People edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Vol. V, The Struggle for Empire, Bombay : Bharatiya Bidya Bhaban, 1957, pp. 496-498.

42. Dr. R. C. Majumdar and others, Advanced History of India, (3rd edition), Calcutta : Macmillan and Co, Ltd., 1974, p. 395.

Chapter Four

CHAITANYADEV—HIS INFLUENCE IN ORISSA AND BENGAL

Śrī Chaitanyadev alias Viśwambhara, alias Nemāi was born on the 27th of February[1], 1486 A.D. which corresponds to Phalgoon 23 of Śaka 1407. The day of his birth was an important day in the socio-religious history of Bengal and Orissa. According to some scholars, his father, Jagannāth Miśra, was originally an inhabitant of the village Dāka Dakshin in the Syllet district of Bengal. He came to Nadia in 1460 A.D.[2] and settled there. According to Jayānanda, the author of *Chaitanya Mańgal*, Jagannāth Miśra was a resident of Jaypur village of the same district. Jagannāth Miśra was not the only person who came to Nadia; there were many other Brāhmiṇ families who migrated to Nadia to escape muslim aggression.

As regards the ancestory of Jagannāth Miśra, Jayānanda has stated in his '*Chaitanya Mańgal*' that Madhukar Miśra, the great grandfather of Jagannāth Miśra was originally a resident of Jājpur in the Cuttack district of Orissa and had to leave his native village from fear of Rājā Bhramarbara with Kapilendradeva of Orissa.

Jagannāth Miśra had seven daughters and two sons. All the daughters died prematurely. The eldest son, Viśwarupa born 1465 A.D., left home secretly for good on the day before his marriage. It is believed that Viśwarupa adopted the vow of an ascetic as he was deeply associated with Adwaita. So it is quite natural that all their affection concentrated upon their only surviving child and they thought that it would be better not to send Viśwambhara to school on the ground that learning would lead him to ascetic life. Viśwambhara would be the supporter of his parents in old age. In this way Viśwambhara alias Nemāi grew up as privileged child but he showed extraordinary talent in reading. Jagannāth Miśra, being advised by the neighbours, decided to send Viśwambhara to school. He appointed Viṣṇu Paṇḍit his son's tutor. After his elementary education Viśwambhara studied Sanskrit by Sudarson and then was sent to the tol of Gangādās Paṇḍit to learn Grammar.

Viśwambhara very soon became a great Sanskrit scholar under Gangādās. Jayānanda has stated in his '*Chaitanya Mańgal*' that when Viśwambhara was still a student in the house of Gangādās and was engaged in copying a text he heard the news of his father's death. He was then only 20 years old. After the death of his father he was given the charge of a tol at Vidyānagar.

After sometime, Viśwambhara married Lakshmī Devī, the daughter of Ballavāchārya, a scholar of Nabadwipa. Lakshmī Devī died of a snakebite when Viśwambhara was away in East Bengal.

Viśwambhara, though born in an auspicious day, suffered a lot before he took *sannyāsa*. His life was not a bed of roses as revealed in various biographies. He was destined to tolerate the death of his father. He later married Viṣṇupriyā, a daughter of Sanātan Miśra, a famous paṇḍit of Nadia. After his marriage, he started for Gayā at the age of 22 with some other pious pilgrims to perform his father's *srādha* ceremony there. There he met Īśwara Purī and a change occurred in his mind. Īśwara Purī gave him the Kṛṣṇa mantra of ten syllables (*dasākshara*). After his return from Gayā Viśwambhara was completely overpowered by the sight of the Kṛṣṇa image which he had seen at Gayā and very often fall into trances. We are told by his biographers and modern writers about the later incidents that came upon the life of Chaitanya. The principal factor in the transformation of his mind, which his biographers believe, was meeting with Īśwara Purī. The change in him became the talk of the town and a matter of anxiety to his relatives. But the small group of Vaiṣṇava devotees, headed by Adwaita marked in him something more than the symptoms of madness and welcomed him with great hope and joy.[3]

Thereafter in the month of February, 1509[4] A.D. Nemāi disclosed his desire to be a *sannyāsī* to Mukunda. It is stated that on the 30th Māgha (mid-February) 1509 A.D. he took leave of his mother, Sachī Debi, for Kātwā, accompanied by a single follower, Gobinda. He reached Kātwā on the evening of March 30th in 1509 A.D. via Kānchannagar and was initiated by Keśava Bhāratī in the presence of 3 followers, Nityānanda, Chandrasekhar and Mukunda. He was given the name Kṛṣṇa-Chaitanya (God-consciousness). He, at first, decided to leave for Brindāban but afterwards resolved to reside at Puri which his mother liked.

Chaitanya departed for Puri with only four disciples. They were Nityānanda, Dāmodara and Mukunda. On his way to Puri, he came across Hāzipur, Jaleśwara, Bālāsore, Jājpur, Cuttack, Bhubaneśwar, Sākshigopāl in the month of Phālgoon, Śaka 1448 (1510 A.D.). By this time Chaitanya's fame spread all over Orissa. When Chaitanya came to Puri, Pratāparudradeva, the king of Orissa was away from the Capital.

After a short stay at Puri, Chaitanya resolved to start for a long and extensive pilgrimage to southern and western India which took a little less than two years. He left Puri on 7th day of Baisakh, Śaka 1432 (1540 A.D.) staying at Puri for a little above two months from April 1509 A.D.[5] During his pilgrimage he met Rāmānanda Rāi, near Rājamahendry on the bank of Godāvari. The meeting happened at the bathing place on the bank of Godāvari and Chaitanya welcomed him with high reverence.[6] Rāmānanda admitted the intensity and power of Chaitanya's devotion, and cordially joined the group of his faithful and intimate followers. Thereafter Chaitanya proceeded to deep south. On the way, he spent some months with the members of Śrīvaiṣṇava community at Śrirangam on the bank of Kāvery. He then proceeded to beyond Bombay upto Somnāth, Dwārakā and Provāsa.[7] The account of Gobinda Dās reveals several instances of Chaitanya's life and teachings in southern and western India. Chaitanya by his divine behaviour and personality reformed several sinners like Tirtharām, Naoroji, Bhilapantha, Murāris, Indirā Debī, Baramukhi and many others.[8] It is also said in the *Kaḍacha* of Gobinda Dās that king of Trivāncore, Rudrapati was also reformed. In this way, after an extensive tour of southern and western part of India Chaitanya returned to Puri on the 3rd of Māgha, 1477 Śaka i.e. 1511 A.D. Thousands of people gathered to welcome him. The king Pratāparudra, abandoning his royal clothings joined the procession behind Chaitanya.

After a short stay at Puri, Chaitanya desired to visit Brindāban. Arrangement was made by the king, Pratāparudradeva and his admirers of Nadia.

At Rāmakeli, Chaitanya met Keśava Basu, an agent of Husain Sāha. Thereafter Sanātan was sent to interview Chaitanya. Sanātan told the Master not to go to Bengal as the Muhammadan ruler had broken numberless images of gods and goddesses throughout Bengal and Orissa. Chaitanya expressed his intention to return to Puri. Both the brothers, Sanātan and Rūpa saw in Chaitanya the secret of love for God. Rūpa leaving the court of Husain Sāha joined Chaitanya at Puri in 1516 A.D.[9] After some days Sanātan also came to Puri as we are told the facts of his escaping from the hands of Muslim ruler of Bengal. Chaitanya advised both the brothers to go to Brindāban, the place associated with Kṛṣṇa to write treatises on Vaiṣṇavism. It is said that Chaitanya instructed three months on Vaiṣṇava religion and its tenets which have been compiled elaborately in his works *'Haribhaktivilāsa'*. Both the brothers had gone to Brindāban and settled there. They produced a number of books on vaiṣṇavism and eventually formed a group of followers who by their perseverence, sacrifice and labourious work had made the Brindā groves a place of peace and an abode of love.

After a short stay at Puri on return from Bengal Chaitanya again desired to visit Brindāban with a small number of companions. Then he came to Benāres where he lived at the house of Tapan Miśra, and later on stayed for sometime at the residence of Chandrasekhar. He also met Prakashānanda, a Mārhāti scholar living at Benāres at that time. Then he went to Allāhabad via Jhārkhanda. Then Mathurā where he stayed for a few days. On his way back to Puri he spent some days at the Kumbha-melā, Prayāga where he met many ascetics like Vallava Bhatta, Raghupati Upādhyāya, Rūpa and his younger brother Anupam (alias Vallabha).

Having passed altogether six years in pilgrimage in southern and northern India until about 1515 A.D. Chaitanya decided to live permanently at Puri. He was then thirty years old. Kavikarnapur and Jayānanda wrote that he lived at *Tota Āsram* of Kāshi Miśra. The last 18 years of his life was comparatively uneventful and passed in worship and daily adoration of Jagannāth. He passed away at the age of 48 in 1533 A.D. Many incidents of Chaitanya's life are described by Krișṇadās Kavirāj Goswāmi and other biographers of Orissa and Bengal during his life time and after his death.

INFLUENCES OF ŚRĪCHAITANYADEV ON ORISSA

The arrival of Śrīchaitanya in Orissa for the first time and later on his continuous stay for 18 years till his death has had a remarkable bearing upon the Hindu society in general and the vaiṣṇavas in particular.

We know that before the advent of Śrīchaitanya in Orissa there were a number of religious cults prevalent in the Hindu society in Orissa. These religious cults had a considerable impact upon the Hindu people, but in spite of the influence of these obscure cults, the vaiṣṇava was flowering well.

The literary works produced before the arrival of Śrīchaitanya testify that the *Kṛṣṇa-idea* and *Rādhā-bhāva* was known to Rāmānanda Rāi and others. Some works of the period indicate that Bhakti marga was also prevalent and in popular tune among the vaiṣṇavas as well as other people. We find that Kṛṣṇa-idea was known to Rāmānanda Rāi and others, but there were other different religious cults such as *Śaivism* and various branches of *Buddhism, Nāthism* on which books were written by some scholars. In spite of these obscure religious influences various books composed on vaiṣṇava tenets and ideas. From it we can presume that the influence of Śrīchaitanya was vigorously felt inside the Hindu society.

With this background we can easily estimate the influence of Śrīchaitanya upon the society and religion and can enumerate the contribution he had made towards the development of vaiṣṇava sect and vaiṣṇava literature. We know that before his arrival the literature of Orissa was not centred on one aspect. We find that *Rādhā-bhāva* or *Rādhā-element* came to limelight in Orissa due to the influence of and teaching of the Master. During the period prior to the 16th century the idea was not so popular though Gītagobinda was recited before Jagannāth at the time of *Barasringara* ceremony.[10] There were some persons like Rāmānanda Rāi, Mādhavi Dāsī, Kānhāi Khuntiā, Narasingha Sena, Raghunāth Arakshita, Balarām Dāsa who devoted their lives and contributed greatly in writing on this idea. During the period we find that books were written on *Madhurabhasa* and *Rāsalīlā*. Kṛṣṇa seems to have been a theme of literary works during the 16th century A.D. and it was continued later on. Among the poets who were renowned during the period, Sadānanda Kavisurya Brahma, Bhaktacharana, Abhimanyu Sāmantasinhār, Gopālakṛṣṇa and Banamāli were great.

Chaitanya advised his followers to go to Brindāban and to devote their lives to writing philosophical treatises of his doctrine of love. Consequently, the followers formed a group and was known as six goswamins of Brindāban. This group also includes vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. The other group, Utkaliya school of Vaiṣṇava in which we find that *premabhakti* was not an important and popular factor. But during the subsequent years of his living in Orissa Chaitanya influenced the mind and thought of the vaiṣṇavas. This *premabhakti*[11] being corroborated with *Rādhā-bhāva* came to the picture due to the influence of Chaitanya.

Here we can say that before the arrival of Śrīchaitanya a few literary contributions such as *Śiśuveda, Amarkosagītā, Sāralā Mahābhārata,* and Chārikhāni by Achyutānanda Dāsa in which the central theme was Kṛṣṇa and were not related purely to vaiṣṇavas. But later on we find that authors like Narasingha Sena, Balarām Dās, Brindāban Dāsa wrote books like *'Gopa'*, *Uddhavagitā* and translations of Gitagobinda respectively. These authors took pain to represent the Kṛṣṇa-idea along with Rādhā-bhāva. Brindāban Dāsa translated *Gītagobinda* in which he expressed the *Gopi-bhāva* in a new light. During this period some devotional songs relating to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa love were written by Raghunāth Arakshita. Kānhāi Khuntiā who was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya wrote *Mahābhāvaprakāsha* on the same theme. These literary works were composed due to the personal contact with Śrīchaitanya.

Another influence we find when women entered into the scene of religious preaching. Mādhavi Dāsi, Gourī—the Patta Mādhavi, a disciple of Jagannāth Dāsa, were devotees and disciples and gradually became renowned in the society. These disciples were advised to devote their life to the teaching of Śrīchaitanya. We can find from Īśwar Dāsa's *'Chaitanya-Bhāgavata'* a number of names of devotees. Īśwar Dāsa tells us that Gadādhar Dāsa (Pandit ?) compared himself with Rādhā, and he used to wear dresses of the female.[12] So Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa was regarded as *Nitya-Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa*. Although the poets like Dīnakṛṣṇa Dāsa, Bhupati Paṇḍit, Devadurlava Dāsa and other poets of later age accepted the *Nitya-Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* as the subject matter of their works.

Devadurlava Dāsa, the author of *'Rahasyamanjari'* flourished in the later half of the sixteenth century A.D. In this book, we find the *Rādhā-bhāva* and the consort mode of devotion have been described vividly. Bhupati Paṇḍit, a poet of the 17th century A.D. wrote *Prema-pañchāmṛta*, book describing the love-affairs of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa. Dīnakṛṣṇa in his *Nāmaratnagītā* and *Rasakollala* has proved the everlasting influence of Śrīchaitanya. In *Nāmaratnagītā* the poet has described the eternal field of *Rāsa*. Kṛṣṇa as a human being enters into the arena and is cursed by Nirākār Hari. During the same period we find two pictures of *Rāsalīlā* entering literature as a result of Śrīchaitanya's influence. Each one of the pañchasakhās composed a separate book on *Rāsalīlā* which admits of the importance of this element. Likewise, Narasingha Sena took this subject as 'gopalīlā' where we can see the love play as identical with *Rasalīlā*. We are told that during this period three translations of

Gītagobinda have been completed and Chaitanya's *'premabhaktivād'* has had an enormous influence upon the literature and society as well.

During the later period especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries we have noticed that Rājā Gobinda Bhanja of Keonjhar in his *Bhaktibinod* describes the erotic love of Rādhā and in *'Charanasudhānidhi'* he revers Śrīchaitanya as the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa.[13] During the eighteenth century A.D. Rādhā idea has got its final and decisive triumph. Rādhā can be found as the heroine in the book *'Purnatama Chandrodaya'* of Brindābati Dāsi, *Preeti Chintāmani*, *Bidagdha Chintāmani* of Abhimanyu Sāmantasinhar, Gopībhāsa of Janārdana Dāsa, *Chorachintāmani*, *Nāmachintamani* and *Prematarangini* of Sadānanda Kabisurya Brahma.

Prior to Śrīchaitanya's arrival we find that the Buddhist influence among the common people was strong but with his arrival it seems clear than when vaiṣṇava preachers swept the countryside many of the Buddhists and other religious adherents came out of their original religious fold and joined vaiṣṇavism. We know that Prāchi valley was once the stronghold of Buddhism and Śaivism but vaiṣṇava thought swept away the previous influences. The principal vaiṣṇava poets of the century were known as 'Dāsa' who were primarily influenced by Buddhist philosophy. In *Śunya-Samhitā*, *Śrīchaitanyabhagavata* and in *Rudrasudhānidhi*, we can see various devotees and their inclinations towards vaiṣṇavism. Here we find the indirect influence of Śrīchaitanya as a result of the spreading of vaiṣṇava literature and preaching of *prema-bhakti*.

We also know that at the time of the arrival of Śrīchaitanya the cruelty of castism was strong. Śudras were not allowed to take part in any sort of debate on religion. The reading of the Vedas and Vedāntas were confined to the Brāhmiṇs. But teachings of Śrīchaitanya abolished the differences among the people. People of every caste, even Muslims, were allowed to join the *Sankīrtan* party. The fundamental idea of all people had been strengthened by preachings of Śrīchaitanya. He found no difference between Brāhmiṇ and Śudra. So people from all classes came into the new sect of vaiṣṇavism,

Another striking influence of his teaching and preaching is that people from lower classes became the *gurus* (preceptor) who initiated people of all classes, high and low, men and women and consequently formed a particrlar lineage. Among them were Shyāmānanda, Rasikānanda, Haridayānanda We also find it was Śrīchaitanya's spirit and divine personality that made possible the mass movement for the creation of neo-vaiṣṇavism.

Lastly, we can see that Muslim invadors from north and the south became inoppressive due to the preachings of Śrīchaitanya. Śrīchaitanya had given many things to the society of Orissa and Bengal among them Love for all is the outstanding feature. The influence of Chaitanya's life at Puri was enormous. The power of his ecstatic devotion of Kṛṣṇa, the emotional appeal of his experience during his stay at

Puri and pilgrimage had made his name and faith immortal throughout Orissa. This had an everlasting effect on succeeding years. So when Shyāmānanda began to preach the religion of *Chaitanya-bhakti* he found conditions congenial for his work. Many influential people of that like Rājā Rasikamurari and his descendants became disciples of Shyāmānanda, although he came from a low caste. They still acknowledge Shyāmānanda as their hereditary *guru*. Likewise, king Pratāparudra and his queen, governor, Rāmānanda Rāi came nearer to Chaitanya due to his new light of human philosophy. Another prominent vedantist of that period living at Puri was Sārbabhouma Bhattācharya who was very proud of his vedanta education but Śrīchaitanya's divine personality overpowered him. Śrīchaitanya, after his arrival at Puri, first met Sārbabhouma Bhattāchārya and also lived in his home. Śrīchaitanya took part in the logical debate in which he defeated Bhattāchārya. It influenced other members of the king's court. The followers who were present during the discourses between Sārbabhouma and Śrīchaitanya regarded Śrīchaitanya as superior to the Vedāntist. Sārbabhouma, according to *Chaitanya Charitamrita* criticised himself.[11]

INFLUENCES OF ŚRĪCHAITANYADEV IN BENGAL

We have seen that Śrīchaitanya was born in a disturbed society, the period when due to Muslim domination and supremacy, the people of lower classes converted themselves in the fold of Islam to find out a place in society. These converts from other sects, when they found Śrīchaitanya as a gifted personality and an assimilating feature in his doctrine of love for all, came again to Hindu fold in great numbers. The additions multiplied rapidly with the preaching of love for all, the wave of enthusiastic bhakti rose higher in society in general and the vaiṣṇava community in particular. His personality was the secret of this expanding influence.

During the time we have marked the cruel order of castism which failed to unite all the Hindus. The orthodox Brāhmiṇs were the great barriers to the unification of Hindu society, but Śrīchaitanya's doctrine of universal brotherhood, equality of all people of all castes helped to abolish the caste barriers and ultimately united all classes of people. The catholicity of his doctrine of love accepted converts from Islam without any prejudice and one of his earliest disciples was a Muhammadān pilgrim, Haridās, who in course of time attained a great sanctity in the vaiṣṇava community. Apart from the instances of Haridās, we have another example of Jagāi-Mādhāi who were great opponents, became followers of Śrīchaitanya. We can also cite the cases of Rūpa and Sanātan who were under the influence of Muslim Bādsāha, outcast from Hindu society, afterwards acclaimed the highest position of regard as scholars and advocates of the sect. Śrīchaitanya once ordered Raghunāth Dās Goswāmi living at Brindāban, a disciple of his to worship *Sālagrām* (Nārāyaṇa).

This indicates the catholicity of his doctrine of love for god. He changed the prevailing customs and ideas of his time in new directions with all his divine qualities and overpowered the worldly differences among his followers and others also. This message of religious freedom proclaimed by his idea of bhakti made accessible to the lower classes of all people, poor and rich, high and low, specially to the Śudras and made the vaiṣṇava community a place for all.

As a result of Śrīchaitanya's influence we find that there was no difference, no limit in the faith and their wideness of view called all people to assemble at the common platform seems to be startling and revolutionary. It is also found that due to the influence of Śrīchaitanya, the vaiṣṇava sect welcomed and absorbed the outcast elements such as Neḍa-Neḍis (i.e. shaven), the members of decadent Buddhist (Bhikshus and Bhikshunis). People of these groups were attracted by the faith preached by Śrīchaitanya and his followers because of its likeness in many ways of the faith. It is also said in more than one book that 1200 Bhikshus and 1300 Bhikshunis were admitted into the fold of vaiṣṇavism by Vīrabhadra, son of Nityānanda, at Khardah.

The striking influence that Śrīchaitanya imparted is the introduction of *Sankīrtan* (chanting of the sacred name of Hare-Kṛṣṇa Hare-Rāma) in which people of all castes, poor and rich and even the Muslims had joined. The tune of this congregational song had touched hearts of all people so painfully that the Sultān (Husain Sāha) once ordered not to oppose the *Sankīrtan* party in the streets of Nabadwipa. Śrīchaitanya found no distinction in human being as a devotee of God. This idea of simplification leads to universal brotherhood and as such the achievement became more prominent and popular. The people of lower castes became free from stringent caste distinctions and religious tyranny of upper classes and found a common platform to unite themselves for religious worship. Śrīchaitanya showed them the way in which every human being can be free from worldly displeasure and discontent.

Srīchaitanya had opponents from outside and within but it is his credit that in the midst of priest-ridden, caste-bound society, he by his own emotional experience inaugurated popular religious movement for all. His opponents could not hide themselves from this light which Śrīchaitanya was focussing. A band of followers then began to propagate the philosophy and formed different groups of vaiṣṇavites in different parts of the country. Among them Nityānanda, Advaita—Sanātan—Rūpa first formed a group and tried to establish his doctrine of love which during the later period concretised by other followers such as Śrīnivās Āchārya, Narottam Dās, Shyāmānanda. All these followers laboured hard by devoting their life to Śri-Chaitanya's philosophy and contributed immensely a number of books which in the long run took the form of vaiṣṇava literature, the literature of bhakti. We find that one of the remarkable features of Śrīchaitanya's influence is its extraordinary literary activity in which the power and depth of his inspiration have been vividly described. The followers, being advised by Chaitanya, had produced a vast literature in rich classical tongue and in the living language of the province. We find that the Brindāban group of devotees better known as six *goswāmis* devoted their life to laborious productions in theology, philosopy, ritual and *Rasa-Sāstra* and as such enriched the sanskrit scholarship of their own. The literature produced before the advent of Śrīchaitanya had no specific characteristic of vaiṣṇavism but which produced afterwards under the influence of the age had marked with numerous features of bhakti that pervaded the mind of the general people during the period under study. The pre-Chaitanya *padāvalis* testify the above statements. In the former school of poet we find Vidyāpati, Chandidāsas where the worldly affairs, personal happiness are described with intense brevity. Kṛṣṇa of Bhāgavata became a cowherd-boy of village Bengal. But post-Chaitanya padāvali are free from these elements. In between these two groups Mālādhar Basu by writing *Śrīkṛṣṇavijaya* had bridged the pre and post-Chaitanya literary traditions. The central theme of his writing was the glorious side of the life of Śrīkṛṣṇa. To him the necessity of social order was greater than other element. Among others Raghunāth Bhāgavatāchārya, the author of *Śrīkṛṣṇa Premataranginī*; Mādhava Āchārya, the author of *Śrīkṛṣṇamangal*; Debakinandan Singha, author of *Gopālavijaya* were prominent. They had changed the tradition of writing that was flowing before the advent of Śrīchaitanya. Mālādhar Basu was the pioneer among them and his indirect influence insisted many of the Bengali poets to write biographical works taking glorious aspect of Śrīkṛṣṇa's life and it had become popular and possible because of the influence of Śrīchaitanya.

Another striking influence of Śrīchaitanya and his teaching was the birth of various vaiṣṇava groups established in different parts of India. The most prominent and popular place was Brindāban where vaiṣṇava culture then first developed into its present form under the directions of celebrated Bengali (Goswāmis) followers of Chaitanya, living at Brindāban. They were 6 in number and they produced a large number of biographical literature in Sanskrit. These are mainly biographies of the Master which supply valuable materials not only regarding the details of his career, but also the prevailing circumstances that led to the growth of the movement the Master initiated, its method, its extent and its contagion. We do not evaluate these literary works here, it can be said with greater certainty that they wrote from the devotional point of view the books they wrote is distinctly vaiṣṇava contribution to medieval Bengal literature. It added new outlook to the literary tradition of the country. We have found in these biographical works a picture of great human interest and appeal a new light which had not focussed before. Scholars say that these works depicted "purely devotional aspect of Śrīchaitanya with sincere and loving care, with all the attendant details and circumstances."[12]

We have found that the literary activities had been channelised in three main streams during the period under review. The first is the biographical works having been based on superhuman character of Śrīchaitanya, shown the spirit of times. The second is the *Kāvyas* (padāvalis) on *Gourānga līlā* on unnatural love of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa and *bālyalīlā* of Śrīkṛṣṇa. The third is Mangal Kāvya and translation of *Śrimadbhāgavat* and the *Mahābhārata*. Besides these '*Chaitanyachandrodaya*' of Kavikarnapur bear testimony to sectarian theology and Kṛṣṇalīlā. There were a number of dramas written by the goswāmīs of Bengal and Brindāban group. It is also found that a number of Bengali songs and lyrics (padas) were composed by being inspired by Chaitanyaism that appeared in the medieval Bengali literature. There were a number of poets who were present at the time of the preaching of Śrīchaitanya, but among them nine were closely associated with the Master. They composed a number of poems in the own languages mainly on Śrigourānga except a few. They were Narahari Sarkār, Bāsudeva Ghosh, Gobinda Ghosh, Śibānanda Sen, Murāri Gupta, Mādhava Ghosh, Rāmānanda Basu, Bansibadan Dās, and Paramānanda Gupta. The influence of Śrīchaitanya had an incomparable effect upon them and subsequently on the society.

On the other side we can visualise that the influence of Śrīchaitanya's preaching and teaching are represented in Sanskrit by the works of Murāri Gupta, and Paramānanda Sen (Kavi Karnapur), the richer aspects of human emotional sensibilities are expressed in a series of stories, poems, dramas, campus, lyrics, hymns, songs composed by Kavi Karnapur, Raghunāth Dās, Rūpa, Jīva, Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāja as well as other minor poets. We can see that the devotional songs are collected together in Rūpa Goswāmī's anthological survey, the *Padyāvalī*.

It is, therefore, clear that the religious revival initiated by Śrīchaitanya must have supplied an impetus to the Bengali literature for more than a century and Śrīchaitanya had made the ground solid.

REFERENCES

1. Dr. Bimān Behāri Majumdār, Chaitanya Charitera Upādan, (2nd ed.), Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1967, pp. 17-21. He arrived at a conclusion that the birth of Chaitanya took place in the evening before the eclipse and the date corresponds to February 27th, 1486 A.D. But it was at best inferential. Scholars like D. C. Sen said that Chaitanya was born at 6 P.M. on the fullmoon day of 7th day of Phalgoon, 1407 Śaka, which corresponds to the 18th February, 1486 A.D.

2. Dineshchandra Sen, Chaitanya and His Age, Calcutta : Calcutta University, 1922, p. 99 ; See also Krishnadas Kaviraj, Śrī Chaitanya Charitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sahitya Mandir, 1359 B.S. Adilila, Chapter 13.

The Quotation seems to be vital stands as follows :

Chouddasata Sāt Sake māsa phalgoon/
pournamāse sandhyakāle haila subhakshan//
Singharāsi singhalagna uchcha grahagan/
sadabarga astabarga sarba subhakshan//
akalanka gourchandra dilā darasan/
Sakalanka chandre ār kona prayojan//
eta jāni chandre rāhu karilā grahan/
Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇa hari nāme bhāse tribhuban//

3. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Chaitanya and His Age, Calcutta : Calcutta University, 1922, p. 133.

4. Ibid, p. 164.

5. Ibid, p. 104.

6. Dr. S. K. De, Early History of Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement (from Sanskrit and Bengali sources), (2nd ed.), Calcutta : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1961, p. 93.

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8. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Chaitanya and His Age, Calcutta : University of Calcutta, 1922, p. 219.

9. Dr. Asit Kumar Bandyopadhyaya, Bānglā Sāhityer Itibritta, (2nd ed.), Vol. II, Chaitanyayuga, Calcutta : Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., 1966, pp. 203-204. See also, Dinesh Chandra Sen, Chaitanya and His Age, p. 220.

10. Jagannath Temple, Inscription of Kapilendradeva Gajapati dated 1450 A.D.

11. Krishnadas Kaviraja, Chaitanya Charitamrita, (8th edn.), edited by Upendranath Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta : Basumati Sahitya Mandir, 1352 B.S., Madhyalila, Chapter VI, pp. 116-117 ; See also, Dr. Asit Kumar Bandyopadhyaya, Bangala Sāhityera Itibritta, (2nd ed.), Vol. II, Chaitanyayuga, Calcutta : Modern Book Agency (P) Ltd., 1966, p. 202.

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Chapter Five

FOLLOWERS OF CHAITANYA IN ORISSA AND IMPACT OF HIS PREACHINGS OF ORIYA LITERATURE

Śrīchaitanya's arrival in Orissa in the month of Phālgoon, śaka 1431 and his continuous stay at Puri for nearly twenty years has a unique impact on people and literature of Orissa. Scholars like M. T. Kennedy have observed that "Orissa became such a stronghold of the Chaitanya faith that today the name of Gourānga is more commonly reverenced and worshipped among the masses in Orissa than in Bengal itself."[1] It is said that the road on which Chaitanya used to go to Jagannāth temple is known as Gaurabāta. Even his visit to Cuttack is still commemorated every year in the Bāli-yātra festival.

A contemporary scholar namely Pandit S. N. Dās in one of his articles has remarked that Śrīchaitanyadeva's impact in Orissa is unique. There is not a single village in which he is not worshipped. "Nearly seventy-five percent of the Hindu population of Orissa are vaiṣṇavas... For nearly twenty years Orissa was Chaitanya and Chaitanya was Orissa. The king, the subjects, the high and the low—all were mad after him."[2] There are many references to Śrīchaitanya's influence on the people of Orissa in various biographies written by Bengali writers specially in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmṛita*[3] by Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmī. It is evident from Lochan Dāsa's *Chaitanyamangal*[4] that Śrīchaitanya had made no distinction in propagating the gospel of love among his Oriya followers.

Achyutānanda Dāsa, a sixteenth century poet and most devoted follower of Śrīchaitanya, has given a good picture of Chaitanya's teachings in his book *Śunya-samhitā.*[5] There are references to 1200 followers who constantly devoted their lives to the preaching of his philosophy. The works of later period "*Bhakti-Chandrikā*" written by one Jagannāth Dās (not the one associated with the Great Five) gives a similar picture of Chaitanya's influence on Orissan life and literature.[6]

Keeping in view the above references we can well imagine that Śrīchaitanya has influenced the religious life of Orissa to a great extent. C. R. Dās has also supported the view that "Chaitanya had surely made the influence of his ideas felt in the religions and literary activities of the province."[7]

The names of the followers who were disciples as well as devotees can be collected from *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmṛita* and other contemporary literatures specially from biographies of Śrīchaitanya written by Bengali poets. But it is surprising that Oriya religious literatures written in contemporary period is silent about Gouḍiya followers except a few. Simultaneously the Bengali biographers of Śrīchaitanya did not mention the names of the pañchasakhās who happened to be Śrīchaitanya's contemporaries. It is claimed by Oriya Vaiṣṇava poets and religious people that some of them were direct followers of Śrīchaitanya and at least one of them—Jagannāth Dās was given the title '*Ati baḍi*' by Śrīchaitanya who made no distinction between his Oriya and Bengali followers.

There is some mystery behind this type of omission. In *Jagannātha Charitāmrita*, the author Dibākar Dās, describes an interesting story about the differences prevalent in the circles of Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa and Bengal. According to him some of the Bengali followers were so very jealous of Jagannāth Dās that they preferred to leave Orissa, which meant at that time to leave Śrīchaitanya for good. The motive behind this omission can be explained otherwise. Some of the Bengali followers of Śrīchaitanyadeva were not also mentioned in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*. Narahari Sarkār is one of them. He was not only devotee of Śrīchaitanya but also one of his close associates. In his later age he preached his cult known as *Gouranāgara-bhāva* which was not to be found in the preachings of the six Goswāmīs residing at Brindāban. This may be one of the reasons why the Bengali writers have not mentioned the names of five associates (Pañchasakhās). Śrīchaitanya travelled throughout India and most of the people of different religions, belief and sect came in his contact. The names of his followers which were so many could not be possibly mentioned in any literary account. Krishnadās Kavirāj in his *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* has expressed the impossibility of mentioning the exhaustive list of names of bhaktas.[8]

The names of follower-poets of Śrīchaitanya living during the period under review are given in various books of that and later period. For the sake of charity we may divide them into two groups, e.g. Oriya follower-poets mentioned in Bengali literature and Oriya bhakta-poets mentioned in Oriya literature. The names in the former group have been collected from *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, *Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata* of Brindāban Dās, *Chaitanyamaṅgal* of Jayānanda and other literature of the same period. The later group was prepared on the basis of the information collected from *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata* of Īswara Dās, *Jagannātha-Charitāmrita* of Dibākar Dās, and other unpublished manuscripts preserved in the Utkal University Library.[9]

The first group of follower-poets which comprises a good number of names is divided into two sub-sections. The first section only mentions the names of followers without giving any qualifications of their works. In this case we do not find any detailed information regarding their close relationship with the Master. The authors of these works have only mentioned their names. This section will also include the names of followers as found in Oriya literature (published and unpublished) without qualifying the details of their activities.

In the second group, there are names of followers who were closely related with the Master and their services to him are revealed in both Oriya and Bengali literature of that and later period. There are some devotees who at the first instance seem to be Bengali but they were all the time residing in Orissa and sacrificed their lives in contributing to the development of the cult of love that was preached by Śrīchaitanya.

Thirdly we have listed the Vaiṣṇava Poets of the same age but not mentioned in life-works of Śrīchaitanya written in Bengali and Oriya who although did not claim to be direct devotees of Śrīchaitanya and were in no way linked directly with them, have showed the influence of Śrīchaitanya in their literary works. Śrīchaitanya's teachings were so ubiquitous that any poet coming after him has to be under the spell of his cult directly or indirectly and this influence has been manifest both in Oriya and Bengali literature. The literature they produced in the later age testifies to the inspiration which Śrīchaitanya provided by inculcating in them *Gopi-bhāva*.

SECTION I

(*a*) *Names of followers found in various Bengali books and published and unpublished Oriya books.*

Akinchan Krishna Dās : Dibākar Dāsh, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chapter 7.
Ananda Mohānty : Dibākar Dās, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chapter 7.
Anupama Mohānty : Dibākar Dāsh, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chapter 7.
Abhirām : Dibākar Dāsh, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chaps. 48, 56.
Ballava Dās : Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihār, 6th boli, Folio-60.[10]
Banamāli Dās : Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihār, 6th boli, Folio-60.
Bāsu Dās : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanya Bhāgavata, Utkal University compiled by Dr. A. B. Mohānty.
Bhairi Dās : Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Vol. III, Chap. 54, p. 161 (1934).
Bhānubati : Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Vol. III, Chap. 54, 1934.
Bhāgirathī Dās : Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, 1934, Vol. III, Chap. 54, p. 161.
Birabhadra : Īśwar Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata, Chap. 57.
Bishnu Miśra : Īśwar Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata, Chap. 57.
Bipra Dās : Śrījiva Goswāmī, Debakinandan Dās, Vaiṣṇavabandanā.
Brindāban : Śrī Ī. Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata, Utkal University compiled by Dr. A. B. Mohānty.
Chandraśekhar : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā,[11] 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Dīna Krishna Dās : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanya Bhāgavata, Chap. 64.
Dwijabara Śarmā : Achyutānanda Dās, Śunyasamhitā, p. 102.

Dāsa Mahāpātra : Achyutānanda Dās, Śunya Samhitā, p. 102.
Ganeśa Pati : Achyutānanda Dās, Śunya Samhitā, p. 105.
Gādi Dāsa : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabata.
Gangādhara Gopāla : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabata.
Gobinda Dāsa : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, Folio 133.
Gopīnāth Bhattācharya : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, Folio 133.
Giridhara : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Hāḍu Miśra : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Jumbura : Iśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata, Chap. 64, Pada 294.
Jānguli : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Jagadānanda Paṇḍita : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Jagadish Paṇḍita : Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihār, 6th boli, folio 60.
Kapila Mohānty : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Krishnānanda Dās : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Krishnānanda Āchārya : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā.
Makaradhwaja : Krishnadāskavirāja, Vaiṣṇavābhidhāna[12].
Mahari Dās : Rūpa Goswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā[13].
Mādhava Āchārya : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Makhan Paṇḍita : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Madhusūdan Paṇḍita : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Mādhava Paṇḍita : Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihār, 6th boli, folio 60.
Murāri Dās : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata, Chap. 57.
Mukunda Dās : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Mukunda Āchārya : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Mukundānanda : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Nātha Dās : Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihār, 6th boli, folio 60.
Nabin Kishore : Dibākar Dāsh, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chap. VII.
Nārāyaṇ Paṇḍita : Krishnadāskavirāja, Vaiṣṇavābhidhāna.
Nārāyaṇa Āchārya : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Nāgara Purusottama : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.

Narendra Sāmanta : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Narasiṁha Nanda : Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihār, 6th boli, folio 60.
Pitāmbara Abanisena : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Presneswara : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Purusottama Āchārya : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Paṭṭamahisi : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Ratna Āchārya : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Ratnagarbha : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Ratnākar Āchārya : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Raghunāth Abanideva : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalata, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Raghunāth Dās : Krishnadāskavirāja, Vaiṣṇavābhidhāna.
Raghurāma : Īśwara Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Rāma Paṇḍita : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th satabaka, folio 133.
Rāghava Paṇḍita : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Rāma Dās : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Śrīkānta Paṇḍita : Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihār, 6th boli, folio 60.
Śrīyānāth Dās : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 133.
Swarūpa Bhaṭṭa : Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Chap. 54, p. 161.
Suranga Dwija : Achyutānanda Dās, Śuṇyasaṁhitā, p. 106.
Sāranga Dās : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata, Chap. 57.
Śrīkar Paṇḍita : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 134.
Śrīmān Paṇḍita : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā.
Sāraya Dās : Krishnadāskavirāja, Vaiṣṇavābhidhāna.
Śibānanda Paṇḍita : Krishnadāskavirāja, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita.
Tapan Āchārya : Krishnadāskavirāja, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita.
Vīrasiṁha : Īśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata, Śuṇyasaṁhitā, p. 77.
Vidyānidhi Paṇḍita : Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, 5th stabaka, folio 134.
Śibānanda Odra : Brindāban Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.
Śibānanda Paṇḍita : Śrī Jīvagoswāmi, Vaiṣṇavandanā, 234 Jayānanda—e.g.
Śibānanda Dastur : Brindāban Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata.

SECTION 1

(b)

Achyutānanda Dās
Ananta Dās
Amogha Paṇḍit
Bhabānanda Paṭṭanāyak
Balabhadra Bhaṭṭāchārya
Balarām Dās
Balarām Khunṭiā
Baladeva Māhāty
Balarām Odra
Bāṇināth Paṭṭanāyak
Chandaneśwar
Dāmodar Paṇḍit
Gobinda (Āchārya)
Gobindānanda Ṭhākur
Gangādās Nirlom
Gopāla Guru
Gopīnāth Āchārya
Gopīnāth Paṭṭanāyak
Haridās (Chhota)
Haridās Ṭhākura
Jagannāth Māhity
Janārdan Bhrahman
Jagannāth Dās
Kāhnāi Khunṭiā
Kāshi Miśra
Kāshināth Māhāty
Krishnadās
Krishnadās (Śiśu)
Krishnānanda
Kulanidhi Paṭṭanāyak
Mādhava Paṭṭanāyak
Mādhavi Debi
Māmu Ṭhākura
Mangarāj Mahāpatra
Murāri Māhity
Nandāi (Nanda bāi)
Nandan Āchārya
Nīlāmbar
Paramānanda Mahāpātra
Pītāmbar Dwija (Paṇḍita)
Pradyumna Miśra
Praharарāja Mahāpātra
Pratāparudradeva
Purusottama Paṇḍita
Raghunāth Bipra
Raghunāth Vaidya
Rāma Bhaṭṭāchārya
Rāmachandra Dwija
Rāmāi
Rāmānanda Rāi
Śaṅkar Paṇḍit
Sārbabhouma Bhaṭṭāchārya
Shikhi Māhity
Śibānanda Odra
Śingābhatta
Singheśwar Brāhmin
Śrī Dās Mahāsuara
Śrīnāth Miśra
Sudhānidhi Paṭṭanāyak
Swapneśwara Dwija
Tulsi Miśra Parichha
Viṣṇudās
Yaśovanta

Achyutānanda Dās

Achyutānanda Dās was a sixteenth century poet who showed versatile genius in writing books on vaiṣṇava philosophy and religion.

Achyutānanda was born in the village Tilkana[14] situated one mile away from the famous village Nembāla (Nemāla, Lembālo) on the bank of the Chitrotpalā (a branch of Mahānadi) in the district of Cuttack. According to the accounts of *Udayakāhāni*, he was born in the year 1482 A.D. His father was Dinabandhu Khunṭiā and mother Padmābatī. From boyhood Achyutānanda was not interested in study. Gradually he was becoming indifferent to worldly affairs. Once Dinabandhu went to Puri to pay his respect to Lord Jagannāth along with his wife and son. Śrīchaitanya, at that time, was present at Puri. One day he also had gone to Śrīchaitanya with Achyuta. As Achyuta touched the feet of Śrīchaitanya he felt divine energy within himself. According to *S'uṇya Saṁhitā* while Achyuta went to Puri with his father, Śrīchaitanya advised Sanātan Goswāmi who was other than Sanātan Goswāmi, residing at Doligrām to initiate him. Sanātan Goswāmi then at the instance of Śrīchaitanya initiated Achyuta into the name of Hari. But in *Gurubhaktigītā* we can find Achyutānanda was playing under a banyon tree. Śrīchaitanya came there in disguise and took rest. He asked Achyuta about his parents and wanted to see them. Achyuta conveyed the news to his father, Dinabandhu, who came there later on. Śrīchaitanya said that this child would be initiated into *Harimantra* as such the father prepared for the initiation of his son. The day was 11th day of new-moon of Vaisakha. Śrīchaitanya initiated him. After initiation, Dinabandhu enquired of his identity. Śrīchaitanya revealed his identity by showing the four-armed form of God. Śrīchaitanya also told him that he will meet again at Puri. According to *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavata* of Īśwar Dās, Achyuta was advised by Śrī Krishna to take the *parama-hansa* mantra from Śrīchaitanya. "Accept him as the preceptor and propagate the name of Hari."[15]

Whoever his guru might be, Chaitanya's advent marked a turning point in Achyuta's life. He then started for Puri where he served the Master. In *S'uṇya Saṁhitā* we have seen that Śrīchaitanya gave him cymbals and drums (khola). He taught him the tuning, timing and sense of rhythm. He taught mantras to him and put the cymbals into his hand. It is further described in *Śuṇya Saṁhitā* that Achyuta obeying the order of the Master setout on pilgrimage and returned after a long journey. He had formed a *Saṅkīrtan* (Rāhāsa) party and preached the name of Śrīkrishna in different provinces of India. This had happened due to the profound influence of Śrīchaitanya. The accounts of his *saṅkīrtan* party is represented in *Baranacharitagrantha* an unpublished manuscript.

The association of Śrīchaitanya with Achyuta was eternal and universal. The description in Chapter X of *S'uṇya Saṁhitā* reveals that Achyuta is not only associated with Śrīchaitanya in this age, but also a companion in his previous births. The story indicates that Śrīkrishna informed Sudāma that he is going to descend to the earth. Krishna says :

"Go thou Sudāma, we shall meet again in the Kaliyuga. I shall reveal myself in the form of Buddha." "Sundarānanda will be the name you will bear. My manifestation (Kalā) will appear at Nabadwipa, and will be named Chaitanya. Appearing in the world for the salvation of the sinners, I shall preach the name of Hari from door to door. At that time you will stay with us, and will, be known by the name Achyuta. You will save the cowherd class."

We can see more instances in *S´uṇya Saṁhitā* Sudāma, Subala and others asked Śrīkrishna how and when they will meet again. Krishna replied that they will be born as Pañchasakhās in the Kaliyuga at Nilāchala and king Pratāparudradeva will serve them.

His relation with Śrīchaitanya was very cordial. Once Śrīchaitanya came to Cuttack. The king desired to perform a religious festival. Śrīchaitanya advised the king to bring Pañchasakhā. Accordingly Pañchasakhās came Cuttack and joined the party. Śrīchaitanya embraced all of them there.[16]

In *Chourāsi Ājñā* we find Śrīchaitanya seated in the Muktimaṇḍapa along with the five associates, the king and Sārbabhouma. The master declared that the five associates were the followers of Krishna in every age. The associates replied that they were but five branches (pañcha sākhā) of one tree. The Master called them to his side and asked them to give a demonstration of their occult powers. He handed over the seed of jackfruit to Jagannāth Dās. In this episode Achyutānanda had ripen the fruit.

In the *S´rīchaitanyabhāgabata*, it is further stated that Śrīchaitanya once asked Achyuta about his writings. Achyuta told Śrīchaitanya that he wrote many songs and bhajanas.[17] It is also seen in *Gurubhaktigītā* that the Master advised Achyuta to compose books on Rasa.[18] In *Anākārsaṁhitā*, Achyutānanda says that he had written one lakh of padas and padāvalis. Scholars like Dr. A. B. Mohānty claims that he personally had seen 3000 manuscripts. He also had written Saṁhitās and Upaniṣads. Achyuta was popular and known as Gopāla guru in Orissa. He was the guru of milkman caste. His *Ogalās* are very much popular among his disciples. His famous works are *S´uṇyasaṁhitā*. *S´abdabrahmāṇḍasamhitā*, *Anākārsaṁhitā*, and books *Mahānitya-rāhāsa*, *Nitya-rāhāsa*, *S´uṇya-rāsa*, *Brundarāsa*, *Rādhā-rāsa* and so many and so on. He is still remembered for his *Bhabisyamālikās*.

Ananta (*S´iśu Ananta*)

Ananta or Śiśu Ananta was the youngest among the famous pañchasakhās. According to *Udaya Kāhāni* of Achyutānanda, Ananta was born in the 25th year of the reign of Purusottamadeva, corresponding to the year 1486 A.D , at Bālipātna in the district Puri. He was the founder of *S´iśu sampradāya*. Some of the poets of later period, add the title Śiśu with their names. He himself is known as Śiśu (child). The reason behind this naming is to be found in the book of Īśwara Dāsa.

Once Laksmi and Nārāyaṇa were sitting in Vaikunṭha. Ananta and Jagannāth Dās visited them. Jagannāth assumed the form of a Sakhi (female associate) and attracted the attention of the divine couple. Ananta assumed the form of Padmana (Pradyumna) the infant son of Lakshmi. The deities caressed the child as Pradyumna. Jagannāth Dās was searching and realised through meditation that Ananta became child and sitting near the deities.[19] Later on, they gave him the appellation of 'Śiśu'. Among the poets Śiśu Arjuna Dās author of *Rāmabhivā* and *Kalpalatā* ; Śiśu Balarām Dās, author of *Rāsa* ; Śiśu Saṅkar Dās, author of *Ushābhihāra* ; Śiśu Pratāparāya, author of *S'aśisenā* ; Śiśu Dayānidhi Dās, author of *Aśwamedha Yaga* were renowned. Except *Udebākhāna* and some small poems all the works of Śiśu Ananta Dās are yet to be published. Some of these manuscripts are preserved in the State Museum, Orissa. They are *Gaduda-Ananta-Saṁbāda, Āgatachumbaka-Mālika, Hetudayabhagāvata, Udebākhāra Chhatabākhāra, Thikā bākhāra, Stotra, choutisā* and *Bhajanas*. After returning from Gouḍadesa Śrīchaitanya enquired of Ananta about his writings. Ananta informed him that he had written the *Bhabisya-pnraṇa*.

In *S'rīchaitanyabhagavata* of Īśwar Dās we have seen that all the members of pañchasakhā group had joined the *Saṅkirtan* party at Puri held in the month of Chaitra (March-April) near Baradānda.[20] This incident testifies to the close relationship of the pañchasakhās with the Master. It is also described in the same book that when Śrīchaitanya came to Cuttack on his way to Brindāban, the king at that instance of the Master, sent massenger to bring pañchasakhās. On their arrival, Śrīchaitanya embraced all of them. The author also has described the episode how Ananta got the title *S'isu*. Further we find that Ananta was an associate of Krishna in the Dwāpara age. The Lord advised him to meet in the Kaliyuga Chaitanya who will be His manifested self (Chaitanya mora nija dehi). According to Īśwara Dāsa, Balarām-Saṅkarṣana lived in the Vindu-Sarovara as the serpent Ananta, after destruction of Yādava class. At the age of fifteen, Ananta was told by a sage, "Hear me, O Ananta. Nityānanda, the embodiment of Saṅkarṣana, had been born in Gouḍa Desa. Chaitanya, the Lord of the universe, will go to Nilāchala, alongwith his companions. You will serve at his feet. Nityānanda is Saṅkarṣana and you are his partial self. That is why you bear the name Ananta."[21] The hermit further told him that he was Dama in the Dwāparayuga. Chaitanya on his way to Puri visited Konārka. Ananta met him there and prostrated himself at his feet. Chaitanya advised Nityānanda to initiate Ananta into the name of Hari. Thus Nityānanda hearing this message imparted the great *mantra* into the ear of Ananta with joyful heart.[22]

From *Chourāsi Ājñā* written by Sudarsan Dās it is known that Śiśu Ananta once showed his occult powers in the jack fruit episode along with his other 4 associates before Śrīchaitanya and Pratāparudra. According to *Chourāsi Ajñā*, Ananta had plucked the ripen jack fruit from the plant and distributed among all people presented there.

Amogha Paṇḍit

Amogha Paṇḍita was the son-in-law of Sārbabhouma Bhaṭṭāchārya, resident of Puri. According to *Ch. Ch.*[23] once Gopināth Āchārya came to see the Master. Śrīchaitanya wanted to know the news of Bhaṭṭāchārya. Gopīnāth told the Master that Sārbabhouma and Amogha were observing a fast as Amogha was attacked by cholera. Hearing this the Master rushed to Sārbabhouma's house. The Master then touched the chest of Amogha and asked him to utter name of Kṛṣṇa. Amogha rose up saying Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa and was cured.

Bhabānanda Paṭṭanāyak

Bhabānanda Paṭṭanāyak was a resident of the village Bentapur in the district of Puri. He was a devotee of Lord Jagannāth. One day he came to the house of Kāshi Miśra along with his five sons to pay respect to Śrīchaitanya. The eldest among them was Rāmānanda. The other three sons were Gopīnāth, Bānīnāth, Sudhānidhi and Kulanidhi. On their arrival at Kāshi Miśra's house they paid their respect to Śrīchaitanya by prostrating themselves before him. Sārbabhouma was instrumental in introducing them to Chaitanya individually. It is stated by Kavirāj in *Ch. Charitāmṛita* that Śrīchaitanya embraced Bhabānanda and eulogised Rāmānanda.[24] The Master compared Bhabānanda with Pāṇḍu and his sons with pāṇḍavas. The Master told Bhabānanda that there was no difference between him and his sons. They are his followers. Kavikarnapur[25] also was full praise for Bhabānanda. Achyutānanda in his Gurubhaktigitā described him as a gopī.[26]

Balabhadra Bhaṭṭāchārya

Originally Balabhadra Bhaṭṭāchārya was an inhabitant of Nabadwipa but afterwards he resided at Nīlāchala. Once Śrīchaitanya desired to go to Brindāban and asked Swarūpa for a new companion.[27] Swarūpa mentioned the name of Balabhadra Bhaṭṭāchārya. On the way to Brindāban Balabhadra was very helpful to Śrīchaitanya. He did cooking and other works for Śrīchaitanya.

Baladeb Māhity

He was karan by caste. Almost all the vaiṣṇava-bandanās have mentioned him with reverence.

Balarām Dās

Balarām Dās was the eldest among the Pañchasakhās and he was a resident of

Puri, and was great devotee of Jagannāth. In his *Jagamohan Rāmāyaṇa*, the author Balarām Dās says that his father's name was Somanāth Mahāpātra and mother's Manamaya. Debakinandan Dās, in his *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* has mentioned his name with great reverence. He has described him as the profound devotee of Lord Jagannāth and Balarām. Though a great devotee of Jagannāth he was also related with Śrīchaitanya like other associates in a number of incidents in his life. Dibākar Dās, writer of *Jagannāth Charitāmṛita* mentions him as the disciple of Hrudayānanda in the line of Gouridās Paṇḍita. Balarām Dās was asked by Srīchaitanya to initiate Jagannāth Dās. After the initiation of Jagannāth Dās, Balarām Dās started a religious tour to different places of India. Īśwar Dās, in his *Chaitanyabhāgavata* has described the first meeting of Śrīchaitanya with Balarām Dās in the village Chandrapur, near Jājpur which is said to be his native village. On his way to Puri the Master stayed at Chandrapur. Seeing Śrīchaitanya he fell down before the Master and Śrīchaitanya raised him up and embraced him cordially. Śrīchaitanya addressed him as Subala and imparted the syllable of *Rāma-Tāraka-Brahma mantra* into his ears. The account given in the *Śuṇyasaṁhitā* and *Chaiatnyabhāgavata* testify to the fact that Balarām Dās was a constant companion in the saṅkīrtan party. In the *Chaitanyabhāgavata* it is said that once one elephant of Gajapati Pratāparudra turned mad and killed his own *māhuta* (keeper). Balarām Dās was present at that time caught hold of the elephant and uttered *Harināma* in his ear and controlled the elephant. The elephant became docile and bowed to the feet of Śrīchaitanya. Śrīchaitanya was astonished to see the divine power of Balarām and embraced him and called him *Matta* from that day he was known as *Maita*. Dibākar Dās, in his *Jagannāth Charitāmrita* also used the epithet Matta for Balarām.

In *Vedāntasāraguptagītā* it is said that Balarām Dās was gifted with divine powers.

In *Chaitauyabhagabata* by Iśwar Dās we find that Śrīchaitanya wanted to know from the Pañchasakhās about their writing. The eldest Balarām said that he composed *Rāmāyaṇa* in 7 kaṇḍas and in one lakh padas, *Bhāgavatagītā* in 18 chapters, *Vedāntasāraguptagītā* in the guise of Brahmabidyā.[23]

Besides the works mentioned in '*Chaitanya Bhāgabata*' he wrote a number of books such as (i) *Brahmapurāṇa*, (ii) *Kānta Koile*, (iii) *Guptagītā*, (iv) *Bata Aavakāsh*, (v) *Bhāva Samudra*, (vi) *Amarkoṣhgītā*, (vii) *Brahmāṇḍabhāgola*, (viii) *Saptānga-Yogasāragītā*, (ix) *Bhāgavatatikā*, (x) *Bedaparikramā* (xi) *Arjunagītā* etc.

Once he was challenged by the Brāhmiṇs of Puri as an ignorant man and of low origin. Balarām Dās brought a deaf and dumb man, Haridās by name. As soon as Balarām touched his head, Haridās started explaining the Vedānta. Pratāparudra was also present there, astonished to see the divine power of Balarāma. From that day the king honoured him as *Paramaguru*, and he was in some way greater than Śrīchaitanya, who was own guru. According to *Chourasi Ājña* Balarām was present in the famous jackfruit episode which happened in the Mukti Maṇḍapa, in which Pratāparudradeva, the king and Śrichaitanya was present. He brought up the plant. It is also found in the above book that he described himself as Subala of the Dwāpara age and as Sudra in Kaliyuga. Besides this we can see that Śrikrishna informed Balarām in dream that he will be born in the name of Śrichaitanya at Nabadwipa. Balarām along with his followers was ordered to serve the lord.

In *Gurubhaktigītā*,[29] Balarām Dās was called as the companion, Sāmadirā of Rādhā. This fact was supplemented by *Chaitanyagaṇoddesa*[30] in which Balarām Dās was known as sakhi Sumandirā seems to be same as Sāmadirā, in his previous birth. In this birth he was renamed Balarām.

Balarām Khunṭiā

Balarām Khunṭiā was son of Kānhāi Khunṭiā. He is mentioned as Dās Balarāma in Vaiṣṇavabandanās of Debakinandan[31], Jīva Goswāmi[32] and others.

Balarām Odra

In order to differentiate with other Balarāms the title 'Odra' was added to his name. Some scholars are of the opinion that he was *matta* Balarām but it is not substantiated by any proof. Almost all compilers of Vaiṣṇavabandanā[33] have mentioned his name.

Bānīnāth Paṭṭanāyak

Bānīnāth Paṭṭanāyak was the son of Bhabānanda Paṭṭanāyak. It is described in the *Chaitanya Charitāmrita*[34] that he was advised by his father to serve Śrīchaitanya for all time. Śrīchaitanya gladly accepted the proposal and Bānīnāth was serving Śrīchaitanya and he was given the charge of distributing *mahāprasāda*[35] to Chaitanya and other associates. When Gapīnāth, his brother was arrested, it seems that he was indifferent to it and was uttering *nāma* of Kṛṣṇa which pleased Chaitanya.[36] We have seen that almost all Bengal biographers mentioned his name, In Kabikarṇapur's *Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka*, it is said that Sārbabhouma introduced Gopīnāth to Śrīchaitanya as the younger brother of Rāmānanda.[37]

Chandaneśwar

It is said that Chandaneśwar was the son of Sārbabhouma Bhaṭṭāchārya. Krishnadās Kavirāja in *Chaitanya Charitāmrita*[38] also mentioned his name along with other devotees. Kavikarṇapura in his *nātaka* also said that Chandaneśwar was an inborn vaiṣṇava and Brāhmiṇ by caste.[39]

Dāmodar Paṇḍit

It seems that Dāmodar Paṇḍit was a Brāhmiṇ. He was the brother of Śaṅkar and Pitāmbar Paṇḍit. Krishnadās Kavirāja in his *Chaitanya Charitāmrita* has mentioned his name along with other followers like Haridās Ṭhākur, Bakseśwar Paṇḍit and Gopīnāth Āchārya. In *Gurubhaktigītā* Achyutānanda says:

> "Dāmodar Paṇḍita nāma
> Dhanisṭhā gopī se uttama."

In *Chaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā*[40] it is said that he was Bisākhā in previous birth. In *Anurāgakalpalatā*[41] he was mentioned as one of the best paṇḍitas of the time.

Gobinda (Achārya)

Gobinda is no other than Gobinda Āchārya as we have seen in *Gurubhaktigītā* that Gobinda Āchārya is compared with a star, Chandana.[42] In Brajabihār, an unpublished manuscript he was also called Gobinda Ācārya.[43] Almost all the Bengali and Oriya biographers have mentioned his name. According to *Chaitanya-charitāmrita* Gobinda had identified himself as the disciple of Īśwara Purī. Gobinda told Śrīchaitanya that he had come at the instance of Purī Gosāin to serve him. Hearing this Śrīchaitanya embraced him with great joy and Gobinda also adored Śrīchaitanya's feet. Śrīchaitanya then requested Sārbabhouma to look after Gobinda. Kavikarṇapur also referred to his name in his works.

Gobindānanda Ṭhākur :

He was Brāhmiṇ by caste and was mentioned along with other Oriya followers in the Vaiṣṇavabandanās of Jīva Goswāmi[44] and Brindāban Dās II.[45] We can see his name in Vaiṣṇavabhidhāna, an old unpublished manuscript by Krishnadās Kavirājā.

Gangādās Nirlom :

Jayānanda in his *Chaitanya Mangala* has referred to two Gangādās in the name of Kotā Gangādās and Bhagi Gangādās, who were devotees of Śrīchaitanya.

Gopāla Guru :

No authentic information is available about his native place, yet he was favoured by Śrīchaitanya and was included in the Utkaliya followers of the Master by various biographers and compilers of *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*. In Debakinandan's *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* it is said that the Master gave him money and asked him to be in charge of a temple as a priest. His name is found in *Brajabihār*[46] along with others such as Balarām, Gibindadās and Kavi Karṇapur. It seems that he was a contemporary of pañchasakhās. Īśwara Dās in *Śrīchaitanya Bhāgavata* stated that Gopālaguru was a preceptor who used to initiate people into *Kṛṣṇa mantra.*[47]

Gopināth Āchārya

Gopīnāth Āchārya, was Brāhmin by caste. He was living in Nīlāchala. According to *Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita*[48] he was the brother-in-law of Sārbabhouma Bhaṭṭāchārya. There are many episodes in *Ch.Ch.* in which Gopīnāth Āchārya took important parts. When Sārbabhouma first met Śrīchaitanya at Jagannāth temple, Sarbabhouma wanted to know the identity of this *sannyāsi* from Gopīnath Āchārya. Gopīnāth told Sārbabhouma that *sannyāsi* was the younger son and grandson of Jagannāth Miśra and Nīlāmbar Chakrabarty of Nabawipa. He was the disciple of Keśava Bhārati and also known as Śrīkṛṣṇachaitanya. Gopīnāth Āchārya spent most of his time with Śrīchaitanya. When Sārbabhouma yielded to Śrīchaitanya's philosophy, Gopīnāth danced in ecstasy. Sārbabhouma advised Gopīnāth Āchārya to take Gosāin (Śrīchaitanya) to his (Sārbabhouma's) relatives solitary house. Gopīnāth did provide him all necessary materials like water, pot etc. Once the king Pratāparudra wanted to know the Bengali followers of Śrīchaitanya. Bhaṭṭāchārya said that Gopīnāth would introduce all of them.

Kavikarṇapur in his nātaka and Kāvya mentioned his name.[49] He was also referred to in *Jagannāth Charitāmrita*[50] of Divākar Dāsh. There are other sources like *Vaiṣṇava bhidhāna* and *Śrīchaitanyagaṇaddesadipikā* where his name is referred to.

Gopināth Paṭṭanāyak

He was the son of Bhabānanda Paṭṭanāyak and the younger brother of Rāmānanda. The Paṭṭanāyak family was also devotees of Lord Jagannāth and all were vaiṣṇavas. Īśwara Dās in his *Śrīchaitanya Bhāgavata*[52] described that they were favourites of Śrīchaitanya. Kṛṣṇadās Kaviārj[53] also stated the picture of their meeting with Śrīchaitanya. Gopīnāth was ordered to be hanged by the king Pratāparudra but due to Śrīchaitanya's interference Gopīnāth was saved. Almost all the biographers of Śrīchaitanya mentioned his name. In *Gurubhaktigītā* he was compared as Gopi Chārukabarī.[54]

Haridās (*Chhota*)

We have seen 4 Haridās in the name of Haridās Dwija, Haridās Thākura and Chhota Haridās and Bada Haridās. Haridās Dwija and Haridās Thākura were included with Utkaliya followers of Śrīchaitanya. We can see that two and four padas written by Haridās Dwija were included in *Gourpadatarangini* and *Padakalpataru* respectively. According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[55] Chhota and Bada Haridās were Kīrtanīyā and lived always by the Master's side. In *Swarūpabarnana*[56] he was called *harakanthi*. In *Śrīchaitanyaganoddesadipikā*[57] also he was known as *Sakhi harakanthi*.

Haridās Thākur

Haridās Thākur was originally from Fuliā (Bengal) but living at Nīlāchala. Almost all the biographers of Śrīchaitanya have mentioned his name. There were many bhaktas in the name of Haridās as the name was very popular among the Vaiṣṇavas. Jīva Goswāmi also said that Haridāsan brahmadhama Harināma prakasakan. In *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* we have seen that Gopīnāth Āchārya introduced all vaiṣṇavas assembled near *narendra sarobar* to king Pratāparudra. He introduced Haridās Thākur as *bhubanapavana*.[58]

Jagannāth Dās

Jagannāth Dāś was the most popular associate of the Pañchasakhās. He was the son of Bhagavān Dāś and Padmābati of the village Kapileswarpur, near Puri. He was a Brāhmiṇ. His father was a great lover of Purāṇa and also known as Puraṇa-paṇḍā. He was educated in Sanskrit. His date of birth seems to be 1486-87 A.D. When Śrīchaitanya came Puri in the year 1510 A.D., he heard the commentary of Bhāgavatapurāṇa by Jagannāth. Dibākar Dāṣ has described that Jagannāth Dāś was 18 years old when he first met Chaitanya.[59]

Compilers of Vaiṣṇavabandanās like Jīva Goswāmi, Jaykrishna Dās and Debakinandan have mentioned Jagannāth Dāś in their books. Specially Debakinandan speaks of him as a great singer, whose songs pleased Jagannāth.[60] In *Jagannāth Charitāmrita*, it is stated that Jagannāth Dāś requested Chaitanyadeva to initiate him to the cult of Vaiṣṇavism. Śrīchaitanya was to hear this and Matta Balarām, (other than Balarām Dās of Pañchasakhā group) a disciple of Hrudayānanda Paṇḍita to initiate Jagannāth Dāś. Matta Balarām Dās obeyed the order of Master faithfully and initiated Jagannāth Dās in Mantraraja Mantra.[61] It is also said that Śrīchaitanyadeva explained the significance of sixteen names to Jagannāth Dāś.[62]

Jagannāth Dāś began to translate Śrībhāgavata before the arrival of Śrīchaitanya at Puri. Once Śrīchaitanya after his pilgrimage in the year 1516 at the time of his daily visit of Lord Jagannāth heard the commentary of Bhāgavata explained by Jagannāth Dāś. Śrīchaitanya praised the commentary of Jagannāth Dāś to his followers and the relation between them became deep. In *Chaurāsi Ājñā* we have seen that Jagannāth Dāś along with other four associates demonstrated their occult powers in the Muktimaṇḍapa before King Pratāparudradeva and Śrīchaitanya. In this incident Jagannāth Dāś was given a jackfruit seed to sow. The seed was sown and the plant borne. It testified his occult and divine powers. After witnessing this episode, Śrīchaitanya praised Jagannāth Dāś. We can cite there another instance in short. One day the Master asked Jagannāth about his past births. Jagannāth Dāś replied that while he was meditating on Rādhā-Krishna, he that Rādhā and Krishna were gazing coyly at each other's face in Vaikunṭha. Krishna laughed and from that laugh you were born. Rādhā in response smiled prettily and he was born from her laugh. You were destined to appear in the Kaliyuga for the salvation of the sinners. Hearing this the Master replied that it was wonderful "You are then a partial manifestation of Śrī Rādhā the supreme object of Krishna's love. Śrīchaitanya addressed him as a great person. Then taking off his coloured wrapper, he tied it round the head of Jagannāth Dāś and said "You have spoken great words. So will you be known as Atibaḍa."[63] The Master, in recognition of his occult powers bestowed upon him the epithet of "Ati baḍa".

Hearing this news the Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇavas requested the Master to withdraw that designation of distinction. But the Master refused to accede to their request. The Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇavas then decided to abandon the Master. They made their way to Brindāban. Śrīchaitanya tried to find out an amicable settlement between them but he did not succeed. Occasionally the Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇavas used to come to Puri to witness the Ratha-Yātra festival.

Jagannāth was constant companion of Śrīchaitanya. Once Śrīchaitanya on his way to Brindāban reached Cuttack. King Pratāparudra welcomed the Master. Śrīchaitanya advised the king to invite Pañchasakhās for attending the *Sankīrtan* party. According to *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata* of Īśwar Dās Śrīchaitanya used to address Jagannāth Dāś as Sakhi and once asked him about his writings. Jagannāth Dāś replied that he had written *Bhāgavata* in 64 chapters. Jagannāth Dāś is described as the partial self of Rādhā by Dibākar Dās. In *Nityaguptamani*, it is stated that the Master himself advised him to dress as a woman to initiate the chief queen of the King Pratāparudra.[64] We can see the references to Chaitany's love for Jagannāth Dāś in *Jagannāth Charitāmrita* by Dibākar Dāś. Jagannāth Dāś was a constant companion of Śrīchaitanyadeva and had a fortune to learn the idea of *premabhakti* from the Master. In *Gurubhaktigītā*, he was compared to a sakhi parānilondri. In *Swarūpabarṇanā* we can see that he was called a sakhi but in *Chaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā*[65] he was known in his previous birth as sakhi, Bilasākhya, Tinkini, and Kāmalatikā.

It is said that Jagannāth Dāś has composed a number of books in Sanskrit and Oriya both.

Jagannāth Māhiti

Bimān Bihāri Majumdār has said that Jagannāth Māhity was Karan by caste and a son of Kānhāi Khunṭia. According to *Ch.Ch.* Jagannātha acted the part of

Brajeswari and his father played the role of Nanda at the time of Nandotsava staged at Puri. Śrīchaitanya himself took the role of gopa. The king Pratāparudra along with Sārbabhouma, Kāshi Miśra, Tulasi Parickhā witnessed and enjoyed the drama. At last after the play was over the father and the son distributed their wealth among the people.

Janārdan Brāhman

Janārdan was a worshipper of Lord Jagannāth. After returning from the south Śrīchaitanya took shelter in the house of Kāshi Miśra. Sārbabhouma introduced Janārdan as a devotee of Jagannāth to him. According to *Chaitanya-charitāmrita* Janārdan sometimes massaged the body of the Master.[66] Kabikarṇapur also mentioned him as 'Sevakoantoranga'.

Kāhnāi Khunṭiā

He is mentioned in all Vaiṣṇavandanā. The title '*Khunṭiā*' is not his hereditary title. The surname Khunṭiā seems to be a respectable title awarded by the king of that period to somebody who has done a particular work. Kāhnāi Khunṭiā was given the charge of supplying garlands to Lord Jagannāth. It is said that Kānhāi acted as '*nanda*'. He wrote a book '*Mahābhāvaprakāsa*' the manuscript of which was published by Śrī Fakirmohan Dās recently, but the authenticity of the manuscript is not yet known. The title was awarded to him for his services to the king. He was a great devotee of Lord Jagannāth and a constant follower of Śrīchaitanya. Śrīchaitanya after his return from the south sometimes used to go to temple. There he lost his balance by seeing the Lord Jagannāth. Kāhnāi Khunṭiā very often witnessed all these scenes.

Kāshi Miśra

Kāshi Miśra was the son of Debendra Miśra, a resident of Puri. He was the royal priest and Kulaguru of king Pratāparudra; and was in charge of the affairs of Jagannāth temple.[67] Almost all the biographers of Śrīchaitanya have mentioned his name.[68] According to Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, Sārbabhouma was anxious to provide a solitary place to Śrīchaitanya. He reported the king Pratāparudra and requested him to find out an appropriate place for him. The king seriously considered his request and advised him to sent Śrīchaitanya to Kāshi Miśra's house as it was solitary and situated near the Jagannāth temple. Kāshi Miśra received the news and agreed to the proposal with great pleasure and became instrumental in establishing the relation of Pratāparudra with Śrīchaitanya. He thought to be fortunate and consequently devoted his life to the service of Śrīchaitanya and became a great vaiṣṇava devotee of that age.[69] Sārbabhouma escorded Śrīchaitanya to Kāshi Miśra's house who at once fell on the feet of the Master and surrendered himself. The Master being satisfied showed the four-armed form and then embraced Kāshi Miśra. He was known as Manjukeshi and Kalakanṭhi in various books[70] and unpublished manuscripts[71] preserved in Utkal University Library. According to Jaykrishna Dās he was famous in Tamluk district of Bengal. The manuscript '*Kotāiguṇḍichā*' in Oriya language is known to be composed by Kāshi Miśra.

Kāshināth Māhati

He was an Oriya Brāhmiṇ and lived in Nīlāchala. According to *Ch.Ch.* and *Ch. Chandrodayanātaka*[72] he was the holder of the golden cane of Jagannāth. Achyutānanda Dās had referred him as Kundaligopini. In *Brajavihār*[73] he is mentioned along with Gangadas, Visnudas, Karnapur and Gopinath.

Kāshināth Māhati

Kāshināth Māhati was originally a resident of Utkal living at Tamluk. He was Karan by caste. We have seen his name in the Vaiṣṇavabandanās[74] of Jīva Goswāmī and others.

Krishnadās (Śiśu)

The name Krishna was very popular during the period under study. It is said that Śiśu Krishna was a foster child of Nityānanda. According to Jay Krishna he was an Oriya. Śrī Jīva Goswāmi[75] and Debakinandan[76] have supported that he was the foster child of Nityānanda. Brindāban Dās[77] also supports this view.

There was a Kavya entitled '*Sristisambhava Kavyabinoda*' written in Oriya language is available in the name of Śiśu Krishnadās. In Oriya literature we come across a name 'Balaka Hari Das'. Poets like Ananta Das, Pratap Ray, Arjun Das, Sankar Das add the epithet 'Śiśu' before their names. Some have corrected 'Śiśu with the tradition *of Siśu Veda*'.

Krishnānanda

His name is found in various vaiṣṇavabandanās. He was a disciple of Chaitanya. Achyutānanda Dās has named him as Kalāpinigopī.[78] In some unpublished manuscripts such as *Anurāgakalpalatā*[79] and *Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā*[80] he was called Krishnanandāchārya and Kalāpini. He was also known as Krishnānanda Ṭhākur.

Kulanidhi Paṭṭanāyak

Kulanidhi Paṭṭanāyak was also the younger brother of Rāmānanda Rāi and son of Bhabānanda Paṭṭanāyak. We can see a reference to him in *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* of Debakinandan. He was like his brother a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya. In *Gurubhaktigītā*, he was compared to Kāmalata gopī.[81]

Mādhava Paṭṭanayak

Mādhava Paṭṭanāyak is frequently mentioned in Vaiṣṇavabandanās. It is said that he wrote one *Chaitanybilāsa*. B. B. Majumdār is of opinion the *Chaitanyamaṅgal* is influenced by *Chaitanyabilāsa*. A copy of this manuscript is preserved in Orissa State Museum [No. O.L. 616(c) & O.L.945]. In this work he himself said that he was the disciple of Gadādhara.[82]

Mādhabī Dāsī

Mādhabī Dāsī often known as Mādhabī Debī was the youngest sister of Murāri and Sikhi Māhity, and a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya. She was described in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[83] as one of the famous associates of Rādhā. She was the follower of Sudhāmārgi. Some of her poems are found in Bengali *Padakalpataru*. It is said that she had established a Gopīnāth temple near Ālārnāth in the village Bentapur. The '*Purusottamanātaka*' written in Sanskrit seems to be written by her. In *Chaitanyagaṇoddesodīpikā*[84] she is also mentioned.

Māmu Ṭhakur

According to Krishnadās Kavirāja Māmu Ṭhākur was a great follower of Śrīchaitanya. It is also said that he belonged to Gadādhar group.

Mangarāj Mahāpātra

Mangarāj Mahāpātra was holding a responsible portfolio in the offices of king Pratāparudra. It is described in the *Ch.Ch.* that once after the car festival Śrīchaitanyadeva expressed this desire to leave for Brindāban. On his way to Brindāban the Master stayed at Cuttack for sometime.

The king ordered all his subjects to erect new houses of Śrīchaitanya. He also instructed Harichandan and Mangarāj Mahāpātra to bring new boat for the Master. Mangarāj complied with the order and accompanied the Master along with Harichandan, Rāmānanda and other Oriya and Bengali followers. It seems from the name Mangarāj Mahāpātra that there were two persons whose titles might have been Mangarāj and Mahāpātra and perhaps subsequently they were made into one by oversight.

Murārī Māhity

Murārī Māhity was the brother of Sikhi and Mādhabī Debī. He was Karan by caste. He was a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya. According to *Chaitanyacharitā-*

mrita of Krishnadās Kavirāja, Sārbabhouma introduced him to Śrīchaitanya and told him that Murāri 'knew none except you'[85] Kavikarnapur in this *Chaitanyacharitāmrita Kāvya* mentioned his name which indicates that he was contemporary to him.

Nandāi (*Nanda Bāi*)

Some scholars say that Nandāi and Nanda Bāi were the same person. According to them Nandāi is evolved from Nandabāi which is said to be an another form of Nanda Bhāi. Nandāi was perhaps a worshipper of Lord Jagannāth and was living at Puri. In *Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesadipikā*, an unpublished manuscript by Krishnadās Kavirāj, we find his reference to, the quotation stands as :

Singhābhatta Kamalabhatta Rāmāi Nandāi /
Kramate jānibe ei kiñkar sadāi //

At the time of Śrīchaitanya's journey to Brindāban he spent a night at Chaturdwār (modern Chouduār). Tulsi Miśra Parichhā at the instance of king Pratāparudradeva sent *Mahāprasād* for Śrīchaitanya. Rāmāi and Nandāi[86] were among the persons who brought *Mahāprasād* for the Master.

Nandan Āchārya

We can see this name in the list of bhaktas given by Krishnadās Kavirāj in his *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*. But in *Gurubhaktigītā*[87] the name is Nandini Āchārya who had been identified with '*Haranayani*' gopī. In *Brajabihār*[88], *Anurāgakalpalatā*,[89] *Swarūpabarṇanā*,[90] and *Chaitanyagaṇoddesadipikā* the name Nandan Āchārya is referred to. In these works he was known as Harini in his previous birth. The similarity between Nandana and Nandini ; Haranayanī and Harinī, one can conclude that those names were of one person. Because of the similarity in name one may be inclined to indentify him with one of the disciples of Jagannāth Dās, known as Nandini Achārya. Further research will unfold the truth behind it.

Nīlāmbar

In *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[91] we have reference to Raghu Nīlāmbar. It may be possible that Raghu and Nīlāmbar were two persons. In Oriya literature we have found one Nīlāmbar Dās as author of *Padmapurāṇa*. He was a man of 16th century A.D. Raghu was perhaps the famous devotee known as Raghu Arakhita. According to Rāma Dās the author of *Dārdhyatābhakti*[92] Raghu was originally as Bengali by caste. He was an associate of Pañchasakhās[93] and was famous for a number of short poems and gītās.[94] In his short poems, he describes with great love and devotion the *lilās* of Śrīkrishna.[95]

Paramānanda Mahāpātra

According to *Ch.Ch.*[96] Paramānanda Mahāpātra was a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya. In Kāshi Mishra's house he was introduced to Śrīchaitanya by

Sārbabhouma. Sārbabhouma introduced him as a friend of Prahararāja Mahāpātra and a follower of the master. Brindāban Das[97] also referred him as a companion of Chaitanya.

Pitāmbar Dwija (Paṇḍita)

Pitāmbar was known by various titles. He was the brother of Dāmodar and Śaṅkar Paṇḍit. He is so mentioned in *Braja Bihār*[98] and *Anurāgakalpalatā*[99] along with Murāri Sen and Govinda Ghosh. It is said that he was a disciple of Nityānanda. In *Swarūpabarṇanā*[100] and *Gurubhaktigītā*[101] we find his reference as Premamanjarī and in *Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesodīpikā* he was mentioned as Manjarikā. He was perhaps the famous Pitāmbar Purohit of *Vedāntasāraguptagītā*, of Balarām Dās and *Amarakoshagītā* of Daibangya Balarāma.

Padyumna Miśra

The relation between Pradyumna Miśra and Śrīchaitanya is vividly described in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*. It is said that the Master narrated before him Kṛṣṇa Kathā. Śrīchaitanya praised him as a lover of Śrīkṛṣṇa. He was very kind to Pradyumna Miśra also advised him to take religious instruction from Rāmānanda. Most of the biographers of Chaitanya mentioned only his name. In the *Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka*[102] it is said that Sārbabhouma had introduced Pradyumna Miśra to Chaitanya. He is described then as one of the greatest devotees of Chaitanya and a renowned Vaiṣṇava.[103]

One manuscript in the name of *Śikshāstaka* is available in the Utkal University Library—Catalogue No. CY 336.

Prahararāja Mahāpātra

Paramānanda and Prahararāja Mahāpāta were two friends as indicated in the *Ch.Ch.* Kavikarṇapur in his *nātaka* referred to his name as '*paramabhāgabatabhakta*'. Sārbabhouma introduced him to Śrīchaitanya as *parama Vaiṣṇava*. It may be possible that Praharāja Mahāpātra are two persons, but in course of time the two titles merged into one, and we know them as one person.

Pratāparudradeva Gajapati

Pratāparudradeva Gajapati[104] was the king when Śrīchaitanyadev came and lived in Orissa. He was famous for his military strength though finally defeated in the hands of Kṛṣṇadevaraya. He was luxurious which is testified by the works of Narasingh Sena, a contemporary poet of the king. In *Gopakeli* the poet describes him as a Rasika; who indulges with his queens. In *Saraswatibilās* written by

Pratāparudra we can see the king refers to four of his queens, namely : Śrī Padmā, Śrī Padmālaya, Śrī Ilā and Śrī Matilā. Later Oriya biographers of Śrīchaitanya like Īśwar Dās and Divākar Dās have mentioned in their books more names for his queens.

The luxurious habits of the king are also referred to in *Ch.Ch.* Chaitanya calls the king a 'Visayi' and refuses to meet him.

In his later life he came in contact with Śrīchaitanya and was inclined towards Vaiṣṇavism. The meeting with Chaitanya was a turning point in his life. His devotion towards Vaiṣṇavism has been described in *Ch.Ch.* in detail. Some other works, both published and unpublished give an account of his later life. We will try to give a picture of his devotion in the fore-going pages.

The companionship of various Vaiṣṇava devotees like Rāi Rāmānanda, Sārbabhouma Bhaṭṭāchārya, Kāshi Miśra and the like changed his mind completely. In *Ch.Ch.* it is said that since the arrival of Chaitanya the king tried to have union with Śrīchaitanya but the Master did not give him his ear and disagreed to all sorts of request made by the followers. This disapproval of Śrīchaitanya indirectly added fuel to his desire and finally one day Śrīchaitanya held king's hand in a mood of intense ecstasy. The society inside his palace in which he lived in and the environment outside the palace instantly took a new shape. He could not escape the magnetic influence of the Master and became intensely anxious to offer his respect to him. Śrīchaitanya's continuous stay at Puri, his divine personality and the religious climate flowing within the vicinity of Śrī Jagannātha Temple entered into the palace. It came gradually and had blown away religious meanness providing all sorts of help in establishing the foundation of cult of love in the caste-ridden society. The king also was not away from could not free himself from wind. The queens also helped the king in realising Chaitanya's preaching and becoming a great devotee of Chaitanya.

Some scholars suggest that Śrīchaitanya was responsible for the downfall of the Gajapati kingdom but it is not authenticated by historical proofs. The political condition prevailing in Orissa during the period under review, the division among the Hindu feudal kings, the internal enemies and above all the coming of the Muslims to India as well as to Orissa seem to be greater causes of the downfall of Suryabansi kingdom. There are ample scope and larger arena for study to the historians.

Pratāparudradeva died in 1534 A.D. one year after the death of Śrīchaitanyadeva. There are no works written in Oriya by him. Four books namely *Saraswatibilās, Prouddha Pratāpamārtaṇḍa, Koutakachintāmani* and *Nirnanyasamgraha* written in Sanskrit were found to his credit. A manuscript of *Parachesamgītā* or *Padadurlabhasamgraha* an Oriya kāvya written by Pratāparudra is also available.

It is also found in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* that son of king Pratāparudradeva was favoured by Śrīchaitanya. Śrīchaitanya knew that unless he got the support of king the preaching of his new cult might have been faced a great obstruction. So in spite of his indifferent attitude towards the king at the initial stage, he at last accorded favour to Pratāparudradeva.

Purusottama (Paṇḍita)

The name Purusottama was a common name during the period. We have seen that there were many persons in the name of Purusottama.

It seems that one of them was the author of famous historical kāvya deals with conquest of Kāñchi by Purusottamadeva Gajapati. *Chaitanyabandanā* of S. Rath refers to him as the author of Kāñchikāveri. In *Gurubhaktigītā*, Purusottama Paṇḍita was known as Madanlatā gopī.[105] In *Brajabihār*[106] his title is mentioned as Paṇḍit and it refers to him as a Brāhmin by caste. In *Swarūpabarṇanā*[107] and *Śrīchaitanya-gaṇoddesadīpikā*[108] he was referred to as *Madanalālasā sakhi* in his previous birth. He was also known as *Mahābala* in *Chaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā*.

Raghunāth Bipra

He was a Brāhmin, living at Nīlāchala and was referred to along with other Oriya followers in almost all *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* by Jīva Goswāmi and others. He is also found in *Śrichaitanyagaṇoddesadipikā*[109] by Krishnadās Kavirāja, an unpublished manuscript preserved in Orissa State Museum.

Raghunāth Vaidya

He was Vaidya by caste, living at Nīlāchala. His name is mentioned by Murāri Gupta in his *Kaḍachā*.[110]

Rāma Bhaṭṭāchārya

Though the surname is of Bengali origin Rāma was living in Nīlāchala and a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya. According to Krishnadās Kavirāj[111] Rāma Bhaṭṭāchārya and Bhagabān Āchārya left their homes to serve the Master.

Rāmachandra Dwija

The surname *Dwija* indicates that Rāmachandra was a Brāhmiṇ. It is said by various biographers of Chaitanya and compilers of Vaiṣṇavabandanā that he was living at Nīlāchala and they mentioned him along with the Utkaliya followers of Śrīchaitanya. Jay Krishna[112] specifically mentioned him with other followers like Balarām Dās, Nātha Dās, Śiśu Krishna Dās and Mādhava Paṭṭanāyaka, from which it can be ascertained that Rāmachandra was a contemporary of Pañchasakhā and other devotees lived during the period. In *Gurubhaktigītā*[113] Achyutānanda Dās, referred to him as *Bisākhājutha*. We have more information in unpublished manuscript such as *Anurāgakalpalatā*, *Brajabihār*, *Vaiṣṇavabhidhān* and *Śrichaitanya-gaṇoddesadīpikā*. In *Śrichaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā*[114] he was known as 'Paṇḍit' and a follower of Chaitanya.

Rāmāi

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmṛita* Rāmāi was a constant servant of the Master at Nīlāchala along with two Kīrtan-singer chhoṭa and baḍa Haridās.[115] In *Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā* he is mentioned along with other followers like Singha Bhaṭṭa, Kamal Bhaṭṭa, Nandāi.[116]

Rāmānanda Rāy

Five hundred years ago, in the district of Puri, in the village of Bentapur adjacent to Brahmagiri Ālālnāth, there was a great devotee in the name Bhabānanda Rāy. Bhabānanda had 5 sons, eldest one was Rāmānanda Rāy. Successors of this family are known as Choudhury Paṭṭanāik. It is said that Chaitanya used to go Brahmagiri every year to see Ālālnāth and the birth place of Rāmānanda. He was the governor of east and west Godāvari and minister of king Pratāparudra. He was a great statesman of that age, a poet, and scholar. When Bhabānanda, father of Rāmānanda met Chaitanya first, the Master told Bhabānanda[117] that there was no difference between him and Rāmānanda. Rāmānanda came in close contact with Sārbabhouma who later on was influenced by Chaitanya. Sārbabhouma was once invoked against Rāmānanda but after he learnt the Kṛṣṇabhakti from Chaitanya became obedient to Rāmānanda.

When Chaitanya started for the south, Sārbabhouma requested him to meet Rāmānanda.[118] Chaitanya reached there, Rāmānanda came forward to meet him and during the time of their first meeting both of them fell into trances. Chaitanya afterwards advised him to return to Puri leaving his royal work.[119] Chaitanya admitted once that three and half persons were companions of Śrī Rādhikā. Among them Rāmānanda was the greatest. We can see in *Chaitanyacharitāmṛita* that Pradyumna Miśra once came to Chaitanya and Chaitanya asked him whether he heard '*Kṛṣṇakathā*' from Rāmānanda. Pradyumna Miśra replied he did not hear it. Hearing this Chaitanya requested him to go to Rāmānanda and learn something about Kṛṣṇa Kathā from him. Pradyumna Miśra again went to Rāmānanda and learnt Krishna bhakti from Rāmānanda. Being asked by Chaitanya Pradyumna Miśra told Chaitanya the greatness of Rāmānanda. Chaitanya himself told the greatness of Rāmānanda to Ballava Bhaṭṭa.

Rāmānanda at the bidding of Śrīchaitanya described the different stages of

Bhakti (devotion) as revealed in various sacred texts like *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, *Śrimadbhāgavadgitā* etc. In *Chaitanya Bhāgabata* we have seen many descriptions in which Chaitanya embraced Rāmānanda after hearing from him the essence of premabhakti. Chaitanya was so overwhelmed with emotion that tears came out of his eyes.[120] In *Gurubhaktigītā* the author described him (Rāmānanda) as Visākhā[121] which was supported by *Swarūpabarṇanā* and *Chaitanyagaṇoddesa*.[122]

The discourses between Śrīchaitanya and Rāmānanda unfolding the spirit of the religion which the former preached is discussed in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*. The first is the *Sādhya bhakti* or the process which leads to final stage by carrying out duties prescribed to each caste by the Śāstras. For more clear elucidation Rāmānanda interpreted the dictum of Gītā which states that everyone should work without caring for the result dedicating to God. But this did not satisfy Śrīchaitanya, and said 'this is external'—'enter deeper still'. Rāmānanda while describing the next higher stage took the basis of *Śrīmadbhāgavata* and the Gītā where God says "leave aside all forms and rites, leave everything else, all professions and callings and surrender yourself to me, and I will, save you from all sins and sorrows." While requesting again to enter still deeper into the truths of religion, Rāmānanda clarifies that a spiritual aspirant must devote his life to faith which springs from a true knowledge of things. The text he quoted was the verse 50, Chapter XVII of the *Gītā* which indicates that one who has known God is content in himself and neither mourns a loss nor feels a desire. In this regard he explained a still higher plan of Sādhyabhakti by quoting verse III, Chapter 15 of the 10th Skanda of the Śrīmadbhāgabata in which knowledge (jñāna) falls into the background and faith (bhakti) becomes the sole object. He quoted from *Padmāvali* in explaining a still higher stage of spiritual life in which faith takes the character of love. This closes the sphere of *Baidhā Bhakti* or the faith which follows the monastic rules and order of scriptures, and Rāmānanda Rāy interpreted the principles of higher vaiṣṇava theology which aims at a direct communion with God.

In this way Rāmānanda explained all the stages of Bhakti such as Sakhy, Bātsalya and Rāgānugā and others.

In *Chaitanya Bhāgabata* by Īśwara Dās we find that Rāmānanda and Śrīchaitanya were discussing Premabhakti.

Śaṅkar Paṇḍit

Śaṅkar Paṇḍit was the brother of Dāmodar and Pītāmbar Paṇḍit. All the compilers of *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and Kavi-Karṇapur have mentioned his name. In *Chaitanyagaṇoddesa* we have seen that Śaṅkar Paṇḍit was known as Chapalā in his previous birth.[123]

Sārbabhouma Bhaṭṭāchārya

According to Brindāban Dās Sārbabhouma was the son of Maheśwara Visārad and brother of Bidyā Vāsaspati. Lakshmidhar in his commentary of *Adwaitamakanda* said that his father's name of Sārbabhouma was Narahari Visārad, a great Vedāntist. N. N. Basu[124] also supported this in Brāhmaṇa Kānda. Sārbabhouma was originally a resident of Nabadwipa. Lochan Dās calls him as Vāsudeva Sārbabhouma. He came to Puri before Śrīchaitanya's arrival. He established himself as a great paṇḍit of the period. Pratāparudradeva accorded him with royal reception. He was offered a golden throne next to his own in his court.[125] However, Sārbabhouma was the chief architect for establishing the relation between Śrīchaitanya and the king Pratāparudradeva. He first met Śrīchaitanya inside the Jagannātha temple when Chaitanya was beaten up by the Paṇḍās to an unconscious state. Sārbabhouma was attracted by the sight of this handsome young *sanyāsī* lying unconscious on the floor in front of the Deity. He tried to prevent the Paṇḍās from beating him and requested them to carry this *sanyāsī* to his own house. Chaitanya was lying unconscious for 8 hours in Sārbabhouma's house and sometimes spoke a few indistinct words of joy at his union with the Deity. By this time the companions of Śrīchaitanya had already arrived and reached the house of Sārbabhouma. They recited the name of Kṛṣṇa loudly and sang his praises. Chaitanya gradually came back to his senses. In *Ch.Ch.* we have a number of references to indicate the incidents of Chaitanya's living at Puri and his relation with Sārbabhouma. Sārbabhouma knew from Gopīnāth, his brother-in-law, that this young man came from Nabadwipa and was son of Jagannāth Miśra. Hearing this Sārbabhouma became interested in Chaitanya. He served the young *sanyāsī* with meal in golden plate and invited him to stay in his house. Sārbabhouma Bhaṭṭāchārya respected all companions who came from Nabadwipa.

Next time when Sārbabhouma met Chaitanya asked him why he took the vow of *sanyāsa* still at young age. Chaitanya replied humbly "Do not, oh venerable Sir, think me, to be so exalted a personage as a *sanyāsī*. A longing for union with God has driven me mad, and thus I have shaven my head, torn my sacred thread and come away from home. I am only a boy before you and do not know even what is good and what is bad for me. Kindly give me lessons and teach me the right course, I am grateful to you for protecting me from the hands of the Paṇḍās today".

Thereafter one day Sārbabhouma asked Śrīchaitanya to listen attentively to the interpretations of the sacred texts. Chaitanya quietly sat and listened to the wonderful dissertations on theology for seven days. On the 8th day Sārbabhouma asked Chaitanya for his comments. Chaitanya simply replied that he was no scholar and had not the capacity to enter into the spirit of his learned discourse. "I listened to it simply because you advised me to do so and it is the duty of the *sanyāsī* to hear the interpretations of holy books." Sārbabhouma said in which way Chaitanya had taken the spirit of discourses. Chaitanya said that the text of Upaniṣads are quite clear to me but the explanations he gave have clouded their meaning. Chaitanya also said to him that Sārbabhouma avoided the direct meaning of the texts and indulged in other meanings which to his mind were not the real spirit of sacred books. Chaitanya then explained the texts quoting from *Śrīmadbhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa.* But Sārbabhouma argued to demolish dualism. The discourses between Chaitanya and Sārbabhouma as revealed in the *Chaitanyachartiāmrita*[126] testify the Sārbabhouma's submission with regard to interpretation of Śāstras. Subsequently Sārbabhouma accepted Chaitanya's dualism. In fine we can see that Sārbabhouma became a great devotee of Chaitanya. His reverence for Chaitanya can be found in *Ch.Ch.* by Kavirāj Goswāmi. Sārbabhouma said that "if a thunderbolt falls on my head or even my sons die—that I can bear, but I should not tolerate the separation of the company of the Master." Gobindadās in his *Kaḍachā* stated Sārbabhouma died at about 1520 A.D.

In the manuscript '*Goswāmi Tithi Arādhanā*' his date of death was mentioned on the day of Kārtikapurṇimā.

In other works of later period such as *Chaitanya Bhāgabata* of Īśwar Dās we can also see the discourses between Sārbabhouma and Chaitanya who ultimately conquers Sārbabhouma.

Śikhi Māhity

Śikhi Māhity was the brother of Murāri and Mādhavi. Both Śikhi, Murāri and their sister Mādhavi were devotees of Śrīchaitanya. Śikhi was a copyst of Mādlā Pāñji preserved in the Jagannātha temple. At first he was not interested in the new movement initiated by Śrīchaitanya but one night he dreamt that Śrīchaitanya came and woke him up from his sleep. Waking up from sleep he embraced his younger brother. From that day he became a great believer in Śrīchaitanya's philosophy. He used to meet Śrīchaitanya everyday at Jagannātha temple.

Almost all Bengali biographers of Śrīchaitanya mentioned his name. Kabikarṇapur[127] also in his Kāvya and in nātaka mentioned his name. He was compared as Śaśikalā gopī in *Gurubhaktigītā.*[128] In *Swarūpabarṇanā*[129] and *Brajabihār*[130] and in *Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesodīpikā*[131] he was known as Sashikala before this birth.

Śibānanda Odra

There is another Śibānanda in Bengal. So in order to distinguish him from Gouḍiya Śibānanda, Kavirāj used the word Odra before his name[132] and afterwards he was known as Odra Śibānanda. According to *Ch.Ch.* he was a great bhakta of Śrīchaitanya and spent all his life with Śrīchaitanya.

Śingābhaṭṭa

Śingābhaṭṭa was living at Puri and a devotee of Śrīchaitanya. Scholars say that the surname 'bhaṭṭa' indicates that he was a Mahārāstrian. No other information is available until now.

Singheśwar Brāhmiṇ

Singheśwar was Brāhmiṇ and also known as Odra-Singheśwar. According to Krishnadās Kavirāj he engaged himself in reciting the name of Śrī Krishna-Chaitanya. His name is found in all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* compiled by Debakinandan and others. He was living at Nīlāchala. His name as a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya was uttered by Sārbabhouma along with others like Chandaneśwar, Murāri Viṣṇudas etc. Kavikarṇapur also mentioned his name in the nātaka. In *Padakalpataru* we can find one *pada* and eight *pada* in the name of Rāi Champati and Champati respectively. Rādhāmohan Ṭhākur in his commentary has mentioned that Champati Rāi was a resident of Deccān and a devotee of Gourānga. He was also an officer of king Pratāparudradeva and also a poet. In Bengal the title Champati has no relation with title of Champati. There are also padas in the name of 'Singha bhupati', 'Bhupati', 'Kavi Bhupati' and 'Nṛpati Singha Kavi'. Dr. S. Sen finds similarity with Singheśwar who was mentioned in *Ch.Ch.* and Singhabhupati and Rāi Champati.[133]

S'ri Dāsa Mahāsowāra

It is said that Śrī Dāsa Mahāsuāra was the chief cook of Jagannātha temple. Kavi Karṇapur[134] described him as *'Nisargabhakta'*. Sārbabhouma introduced him to Chaitanya as 'ayamdāsa mahāsowārnāma mahānashādhikārī'. In *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[135] Krishnadās Kavirāja mentioned him as Jagannāth Mahāsuāra. He was a great devotee of Jagannāth and a great Vaiṣṇava.

S'rinātha Miśra

Almost all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* have referred to his name. His name was also included in the biographies of Śrīchaitanya written by Bengali poets. He was a Brāhmin and disciple of Chaitanya lineage. In *Gurubhaktigītā*[136] we have found that Śrīnātha Miśra was known as Mohanagopī. In *Chaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā*[137] it is said that Śrīnātha was the grandson of Śrīkṛṣṇa and known as Braja. He was also called as Sakhi Bichetrāngī.

Sudhānidhi Paṭṭanāyak

Achyutānanda Dās in his *Gurubhaktigītā* described him as gopī monhari gopī.[138] He was the son of Bhabānanda Rāy and younger brother of Rāmānanda.

Swapneśwar Dwija

Swapneśwar Dwija was sometimes known as Swapneśwar Bipra. In *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[139] it is said that Swapaneśwar Bipra invited Śrīchaitanya when the Master arrived at Cuttack on his way to Brindāban. Kavi-Karṇapur also mentioned his name in his *Chaitanyacharitāmahākāvya*.

Tulsi Miśra Parichhā

He was a Brāhmin living at Tamluk. He was frequently mentioned in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* compiled by Jīva Goswāmi and Debakinandan. According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[140] on the day of car festival, Sārbabhouma called Kāshi Miśra and Tulsi Parichhā. The Master wanted to sweep the Guṇḍichā Mandir. But Parichhā disagreed with this proposal of the Master. He also told him that sweeping of Guṇḍichā Mandir is not suitable for him. The king asked him to serve Śrīchaitanya.

Yasobanta Dās

Yasobanta Dās was also one of the five associates of the pañchasakhās. According to *Udaya Kāhāni*, Yasobanta was born in the village Arabanga, near Jagatsinghpur in the district of Cuttack in 1487 A.D. His father's name was Jagu Mallik and mother was Rekhā Debi. Some scholars are of the opinion that he was Kshatriya or Mahānāyaka. He came in contact with Śrīchaitanya when he came in Orissa. It is said that Yasobanta was initiated by Śrīchaitanya at Puri. After his initiation he returned home and began to lead his life in religious meditation and writing books on new ideas which he had learnt from Śrīchaitanya. There is a popular story that Yasobanta, in his teens, was watching over the cornfield to keep out deer and wild boars. The lord appeared before him and said that Śrīchaitanya is my incarnation. "You shall serve at his feet. Being initiated by him, you will save the sinners." The lord vanished and Yasobanta set out to trace the Master. After some time he saw Gourānga, the son of Śachi. He prostrated himself at the feet of Chaitanya and on getting up kept the hands folded above the head. Chaitanya embraced Yasobanta and addressed him Swarūpa Tīrtha. He initiated Yaśovanta into the name of Hari, and named him Suvaher.[141] It is also seen in *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata* written by Īśwar Dās that Yaśovanta was a constant singer of *saṅkīrtan* party. In Cuttack he had joined the saṅkīrtan party which was engaged in Mahāutsava organised by king Pratāparudradeva.

In *Chourāsī Ājñā* he was present at the time of demonstration and took a major role. He has fructified with jackfruits. During the demonstration Śrīchaitanya, the king Pratāparudradeva and Sārbabhouma was present. Sudarśan Dās, the biographer and disciple of Yaśovanta was present there.[142] Chaitanya's initiation influenced him considerably as such he wrote some books which reveals the impact of Chaitanya's teaching. Among the works *Premabhakti brahmagītā* elucidates the *premabhaktibād* in great detail. Previously he was a follower of *jñānamiśrābhakti.*

Viṣṇudās

Viṣṇu Dās was introduced by Sārbabhouma as a great devotee. He spent his life with Śrīchaitanya.

It is also said that one Bengali Viṣṇudās was also living with Śrīchaitanya at Nilāchala. In *Brajabihāra*[143] and *Anurāgakalpalatā*[144] his name is mentioned along with Madhusūdan Paṇḍit, Makara Paṇḍit and Raghunāth.

The persons mentioned in the sections 'A' and 'B' are contemporaries of Śrī-Chaitanyadev. They are also followers of his faith and poets of his ideas. They came in close contact of the Master and devoted their lives to writing books on theology and philosophy preached by Śrīchaitanyadev. Besides, there were some other poets who, although born in the same period, and did not come in contact with the master directly could not free themselves from his influence. Their names are not found in the Oriya and Bengali biographical works of Śrīchaitanyadev written during the period. The followers who have accepted the idea and written books on Krishnakathā were as follows :

- Brundaban Dās
- Debadurlabha Dās
- Dharanīdhara Miśra
- Kavi Dāmodara
- Mārkanda Dās
- Narasinha Sena
- Nārāyaṇ Dās

Brundāban Dās

Brundāban Dās was the author of *Rasabāridhī* or translation of *Gītagobinda* of Jayadev. The book was published by the Prāchi Samity and edited by Dr. A. B. Mohānty. It was composed in the last half of 16th century A.D.

His translation of *Gītagobinda* like other translations, unfolds the literary current prevailing during the period. *Gītagobinda* was his favourite book. It was an essential book to preach Chaitanyadev's premabhakti. As such, some of the poets of the 16th century A.D. translated *Gītagobinda* in order to preach its philosophy of love among the masses. Brundāban Dās's translation of *Gītagovinda* helped a lot in this direction.

Debadurlabha Dās

Debadurlabha Dās was the author of *Rahasyamanjarī*, published by Prāchī-Samity. The book describes the Gopī-bhāva in a new light. The poet indicates the ways by which one can attain the Gopī-bhāva and subsequently acquire prema-bhakti. He also says that until a devotee thinks himself as a Gopī he can not realise Śrī Krishna who is Brahma. The author describes Brindāban as the eternal playing ground of Nitya-Rādhā and Nitya-Krishna. It seems to be the direct outcome of Śrīchaitanya's influence on the society and literature. The idea of Nityakrishna and Rādhā became so effective that every poet of that age was inspired by this thought.

Dharanidhara Miśra

Although scholars are not fully certain about the time and date of Dharanidhar it can be said with some certainity that he was a contemporary of Arjuna Dās. Dharanidhar Miśra has translated *Gītagobinda* of Jayadev in new light. In this translation, the author has cited a line from *Rāmabhibhā* of Arjuna Dās which proves that he was either contemporary or junior to Arjuna Dās. The lucidity of his translation had brought about a new conscious in religion and literature. Scholars say that the philosophy of Nimbārka school of thought is manifested properly in his book.[145] In spreading vaiṣṇavism it has had an incomparable importance.

Kavi Dāmodar

Kavi Dāmodar was a popular poet renowned for his *Rasakoila Choutisā*. The poet described in this book the love episode of Rādhā-Krishna beautifully. His language, and technique of expression was stated to be of highest quality. We can find that poets of later period have followed his expression in writing Choutisā. The time of composition of *Rasakoila choutisā* cannot be fixed for want of information.

Mārkanda Dās

Mārkanda Dās was a versatile scholar. He was famous for his poem *Keśava Koile* written in the form of choutisā, which had the highest place among the choutisas published in Oriya literature so far. Mārkanda Dās was a poet became popular for his books *Keśavakoile*, *Darugribabadhakāvya* and *Prakrutasarbaswa*. The philosophy of love is the main theme. It is stated that one Jagannāth Dās in his Arthakoile explained the inner contents of the *Keśavakoile*. We will feel sorrow of a mother for her son. But this is not all. Behind the feeling of the mother the affection or devotion of bhaktas is represented for Krishna who is God (Brahma) himself.

Narsimha Seṇa

Narasimha Seṇa was a poet of the first part of sixteenth century A.D. He is well known and most popular for his book *Parimālā*, a kavya divided into 20 cantos of different rhymes.

He is known for books like *Parimālā*, *Gopa*, *Ajabilāpa*, *Dhagamālā* and *Dhagamuktabali*. All these works except *Ajabilāpa* show an important of Krishnabhakti cult on him. His Gopa or Gopakeli is a description of Rashalīlā by Śrīkrishna. In this work he has mentioned Rādhā as the favourite Gopī of Śrīkrishna. His ideals of love is much influenced by Jaydeva, Chandidās and Vidyāpati. These poets were also favourites of Śrīchaitanya. From this one can infer that Narasimha Seṇa was perhaps influenced by the teachings of Śrīchaitanya.

Nārāyaṇ Dās

Nārāyaṇ Dās[146] was famous for his prose romance *Rudrasudhānidhi*.[147] In this work he has tried to establish the superiority of Vaiṣṇavism on the cults like Śaivism, Śāktaism and other cults of Hinduism. He has stressed upon *nāma-saṅkīrtan* (recital of Lord's name) as the summum bonum to get Lord's grace. He has described it as the lord of all preachings. From this pertinent point one can presume that he was much influenced by the preachings of Śrīchaitanya and was a devotee of Viṣṇu. He was also described him as the servant of the servants of Lord Jagannātha.

The persons mentioned in the previous pages were all Vaiṣṇavas. Some of them were closely connected with Śrīchaitanyadev either as his direct disciples or as his devotees of that lineage. Among them there were kings, queens, ministers and other common people.

After his arrival in Puri, Śrīchaitanyadev lived there for about two decades. His continuous stay, created a congenial atmosphere and produced an effective influence among the Vaiṣṇavas and also on the common mass residing there. The impact of Śrīchaitanya's influence upon literature and social life can be summerised in the following way.

That the chanting of the holy name of *Hare-Rāma* by forming Saṅkīrtan parties introduced by Śrīchaitanya had its striking impact upon the literature and social life of Orissa. The glory of 'Hare-Rāma-Krishna' was preached in the dialogue of Śīva-Pārbati in *Kalisantaranaponiṣad*.[158] Gods and goddesses of the early age believed the impact of chanting of Hare-Rāma-Krishna[149]. Śrīchaitanya, in order to preach it among the common mass, changed its order to Hare-Krishna-Rāma'. But the Vaiṣṇavas of Orissa did not think appropriate to change the tuning. They had taken the *mantra* (Hare-Rāma-Krishna) as it was found in *Kali-Santaranaponiṣad*. This *mantra* had has a greater impact in the field of literature and in social life, and was a perrinial source of inspiration to any poets of Orissa of that period and onwards It has formed an important feature and topic of writing of Vaiṣṇava scholars of the period. Out of this mantra (Hare-Rāma-Krishna) we have seen that sloka of 32 syllables—Hare-Rāma, Hare-Rāma, Rāma Rāma, Hare-Hare ; Hare-Krishna, Hare-Krishna, Krishna Krishna, Hare-Hare was developed and occupied the mind of all people.

Achyutānanda, one of the five associates of Śrīchaitanya formed a party known as *Rāhāsa* party[150] to preach Śrī-Krishna's name. The party travelled the provinces of Āssām, Bihār, Brindāban, Benāras and also the villages of Orissa to popularise this new cult. Some others interpretated the name in a new way. Following the tantras they tried to explore the *bijamantra* of the Mahāmantra.

Prior to Śrīchaitanya's arrival, the cult of jñāna and yoga was very popular in Orissa but after his arrival at Puri, the poets of that period explained knowledge in a new way. The cult of Jagannāth had got its finest interpretations in the 16th century A.D., when the five great associates appeared and gave it a noble exposition. These five associates of Śrīchaitanya preached the gospel of devotion based on knowledge and yoga in preference to doctrine of emotional love and faith enunciated by Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇavas. They have, in their various works, explained the philosophy of jñāna and yoga as a supplement to bhakti. In *Virātagītā* and in *Brahmāṇḍabhugola* Krishna described the yoga philosophy to Arjuna. In *Amar Koshagītā*, Śiva explains yoga to Pārvati but bhakti plays an important role in explaining yoga. This aspect i.e. the supremacy of bhakti on yoga and jñāna can be taken as an influence of Śrīchaitanya. Apart from this, we have seen that Vaiṣṇava poets have also discussed the composition of *Nirākār mantra* in view of the ideas centred round Lord Jagannāth. They interpreted that four Rāmas, four Krishnas and eight Hares which come in the limelight as the impact of Śrīchaitanya influence, as a constituent part and manifestations of void (Śūnya).

They have discussed to identify *Nirākār mantra* not only with Lord Jagannāth but also with his four emanations, viz. Jagannāth, Subhadrā, Balarām and Sudarśana. According to Yaśovanta Dāsa the syllables (Hare-Krishna) is a part of the whole mantra and it represents the four images of Subhadrā, Balabhadra, Jagannātha and Sudarśana.[151] Thus the deities are identical with mantra and represents complete void. Achyutānanda also supported the view that Jagannāth tetrad is shapeless and formless void and is identical with *mantra.*[152]

Śrīchaitanya after his arrival at Puri advised six goswāmins of Bengal to go to Brindāban for renovating all the shrines there. The goswāmins did accordingly. He himself stayed permanently at Puri. Brindāban was then taken as the sole playing ground of *mānava-Rādhā* and mānava-Krishna. But he accepted Lord Jagannāth as an idol of Rādhā-Krishna united together in divine love. He also directed his disciples to think Lord Jagannāth as the amalgamation of Rādhā Krishna. The conception became very popular as a result of Śrīchaitanya's teachings and preachings and subsequently brought about certain radical changes in the writings of

Vaiṣṇava writers living at that time. His continuous living enhanced the importance of Nīlāchala among the Vaiṣṇavas of the whole country and simultaneously placed its glory at a greater height. It attracted all people irrespective of caste, creed and belief from all over India to visit and worship the Lord Jagannāth. The conception of Rādhā-Krishna united together in the image of Lord Jagannāth evolved the idea of *Nitya-sthala* i.e. the eternal abode of *Nitya-Radha* and *Nitya-Krishna*. Previously we have seen that Brindāvana was the playing ground of Rādhā-Krishna as a human being. But Puri became the eternal playing ground of Rādhā-Krishna as a replica of Brindābana. The Pañchasakhas, the direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya, were under the spell of the Master's influence advocated the idea of *Nitya-Sthala* through their writings. Krishna, as revealed in *Śūnya Samhitā* written by Achyutānanda, has failed to show the eternal place to his eight queens headed by Rukmini[153]. Mānava Viṣṇu was cursed by the formless Krishna of eternal region.

Yaśovanta Dās, another associate of Śrīchaitanya in his *Premabhaktibrahmagītā* mentioned Nīlāchala as the eternal place and greater than all other holy places. He says that golaka, Mathurā, Brindāban, Dwārakā etc. all the holy places including Vārānasī are present here at (Nīlāchala). It is described that a crores of holy places are to be found in this place whose sanctity baffles description. Lord Jagannāth is identified with Anākar Viṣṇu. Balarām Dās described Baladeva and Subhadrā as Rādhā's self. Purusottama Kshetra is the embodiment of all holy places. This fact is established by Balarām Dās and Achyutānanda Dās in *Vedāntasāraguptagītā* and *Gurubhaktigītā* respectively.

Prior to Śrīchaitanya's advent at Puri, Lord Jagannāth was considered as Buddha. Sāralā Dās and some other poets of the period were describing Him as such. But after Śrīchaitanya's arrival Krishna cult gained a ground and so the poets tried to identify Jagannāth with Śrīkrishna. The books like *Deulatola* (Balarām Dāsa), *Dārubrahmagītā* (Jagannāth Dāsa) and others have stressed that Krishna after his death transformed himself into the image of Lord Jagannāth. Jagannātha Dāsa in *Dārubrahmagītā* has stated also that the body of Krishna after he had passed away was brought to Purusottama Kshetra for cremation. Poets of later period such as Dibākar Dāsh in *Jagannāthcharitāmrita*, Dīnakrushna Dāsa in *Nāmaratnagītā* and *Rasavinoda* has explained the same fact. In *Rasakallola*, we can see the importance of Nīlāchala over other holy places. Bhūpati Paṇḍita has also reiterated this idea in his *Premapañchamrita*.

Thus we find that the group of *jñānamārgi* vaiṣṇava poets of the period under review which includes Pañchasakhās and their disciples composed a number of books on Nityasthala as the replica of eternal playing ground of Rādhā-Krishna. They have taken Puri as the eternal playing ground of Nitya Rādhā and Nitya Krishna. Balarāma Dāsa in *Vedāntasāraguptagītā*, Jagannāth Dāsa in *Soḍasachoupadi*, Achyutānanda Dāsa in *Śūnyasamhitā*, and Yaśovanta Dās in *Śivaswarodoya* described the importance of Nīlāchala as the eternal abode of Śrīkrishna.

Excluding pañchasakhās and their disciples there was another school of devotees who under the influence of Śrīchaitanya wrote books on Krushnakathā. The pioneers among those poet-followers were Śyāmānanda, Rasikānanda and Hrudayēnanda. The writers of this school accepted the ideology of Rādhā Krushna love in a passionate manner. They represented Krusna not like the representation of pañchasakhās. They preached the cult of prema-bhakti in place of Bhāva-bhakti. During later period a number of poets like Dīnakrusna Dāsa, Sadānanda Kavisurya, Brahmānanda, Abhimanyu Sāmantasinhār produced books on Krusnakathā. This type of characterisation of Krusna was not popular and prevalent before the advent of Śrīchaitanya. Among the books on Krusnakathā, Rasakallola, Mathurāmangala, and Bidagdhachintāmani are very popular and important.

It is said that Śrīchaitanya was very favourite of the songs composed by Jayadeva, Chaṇḍidās and Vidyāpati. He was also an admirer of Śrīmadbhāgavata. Because of the influence of Śrīchaitanyadeva, translations of *Bhāgavata* and *Gītagobinda* were taken up by reputed scholars of the period and through these translations, the cult of love became the main source of inspiration among poets.

The theory of incarnation is focussed in a new light in which Śrīchaitanya was accepted as Kruṣṇa incarnated. The pañchasakhās believed that they were the associates of Śrī Krusna in Satya, Tretā and Dwāpara. In the age of Kali they have taken birth along with Śrīchaitanya or Jagannāth or Krusna to preach the glory of 'Hare Rāma Krushna' mantra or the Gods name. The followers of pañchasakhā preached this idea through their writings among the common people of Orissa.

We can also notice that the impact of Śrīchaitanya's influence upon the social life extended upto distant villages. The profession of guru (teacher-initiator) became more popular and far-reaching. They have formed different groups of disciples of different *gurus* and helped them to establish temples (maṭhas) belonging to different groups of disciples. This lineage of initiators continued upto present age.

However, we can say that the impact of Śrīchaitanya has brought about a radical change in social life and renaissance in literature.

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1. M. T. Kennedy, The religious life of India : The Chaitanya Movement, a study of Vaisnavism in Bengal, Calcutta : Association Press, 1925, p. 75.
2. Pandit Suryanarayan Das, Vaitarani, Vol. XI, No. 1.
3. Krishnadās Kavirāja, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhya Lila, Chapter I.

The quotation stands such :

Astādasa barsa kaila nīlāchale sthiti /
āpani āchari jibe sikhāila bhakti //
tār madhye chhayabatsar bhaktagan sange /
premabhakti bartāila nṛtyagīta range //

4. Lochan Dās, Chaitanyamangal, Vol. II.
5. Achyutānanda Dās, Śūnyasamhitā, Chapter I.

The lines are as follows :

Ananta Achyuta gheni Yaśovanta Balarām Jagannātha /
eh pañchasakhāhi nṛtya kari gale Gouraānga Chandra Sangata //

6. Bhaktichandrikā, an unpublished manuscript preserved by Dr. K. C. Sahoo, Reader, Oriya Department, Utkal University.

The quotation is given below :

Bata ganeśa pāru se prabeśa dekhibi eka brahmaṇa /
... ... thibe see purāṇa //
Śrī bhāgavata purāṇa tāṅka thāru suni mun bhola hoibi /
atibaḍa Jagannāthadāsapada seṭhāra tāhāku debi //
Sehi Rādhāaṅsa munhi Kṛṣṇaaṅsa yugale haibu mela /
Nīlānchale rājā Pratāparudra se kshetradhīpa mahipāla //
ehāṅka nabaṅke bhakta janmibe padmabana chhatrapari /
moha nityasebā pañchasakhābhakta mahimā bistāra kari //
Śrī purusottama yai maṭhadhama Jagannāthdāsa maṭha /
yugalpremare rahasya bhabare khola Chaitanya......//

* * * * *

ehā amalere bhaktaṅka mahimā sansāre khyata hoiba.

7. Chittaranjan Dās, Medieval Religion and Literature of Orissa, Sāntiniketan, Viswabharati, 1959, p. 25.
8. Krishnadās Kavirāja, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Ādi līlā, Chapter 10. The lines quoted below :

eimata saṅkhyatīta Chaitanyabhaktagan /
denmātra likhi samyak nā yāy kathan //

* * * *

ekaika śākhār śakti ananta mahimā /
sahasra badane yāre dite nāre sīmā //
saṅkshepe kahila mahāprabhur bhaktabṛnda /
samagra gaṇite yāba nārena ananta //

9. Manuscript,
   (1) Anurāgakalpalatā
   (2) Brajabihāra
   (3) Chaitanyagaṇoddesa.

   Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihāra.
10. Manuscript preserved in U. U. Library, Catalogue No. O. L. 49, Gajapati Śhyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā.

11. Manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O. L. 97, Krishnadās Kavirāja, Vaiṣṇavābhidhāna.
12. Manuscript preserved by S. Rath, Rūpa Goswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā.
13. Manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O. L. 382.
14. According to one version of Śūnyasamhita, the village is Tripura.
15. Īśwar Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata, Chap. 46.

    Śuna Achyuta mo bachana /
    Chaitanya thāru dikshā ghena //
    Se nāma prakāsa tu kara /
    Sudāma sakhā anga mora //

16. Ibid, Chapter LVIII, LIX.
17. Īśwar Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata, Utkal University, Compiled by Dr. A. B. Mohānty. Chapter LIX, p. 367, Pada 1.
18. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University, Vol. III, Patala 10, p. 60.
19. Īśwar Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgabata, compiled by Dr. A. B. Mohānty. Utkal University, Chapter LXIV, pada 126-132, p. 403.
20. Ibid, Chapter LIX, pada 70-90, p. 365.
21. Ibid, Chapter XLVI.
22. Ibid, Chapter XLVI.
23. Śrīmat Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmi, Chaitanya Charitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B. S., Madhyalīlā, Chapter 15, p. 184.

    uthaha Amogha tumi laha Krsna nama /
    achire tomaya krpa karibe bhagaban //
    suni Krsna Krsna bali Amogha uthila /
    premonmade matta haiya nachite lagila //

24. Ibid., Madhya līlā, Chapter X, pada 52-53.
25. Kavikarnapura, Chaitanyachandrodayanātakam edited by Acharya Ramachandra Misra, Varanasi, Choukhamba Sanskrit Series office, 1966, Chapter VIII, p. 258.
26. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University, 19, Vol. III, Chapter 49, p. 176.

    Se bhabānanda rāya hoi /
    rathabatisti gopī sehi //

27. Śrīmat Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B. S., Madhyalīlā, Chapter 17, pp. 193-194.
28. Īśwar Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata, compiled by Dr. A. B. Mohānty.
29. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Vol. III, Chapter XLIX, p. 176.
30. Krishnadās Kavirāja, Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā, manuscript preserved in Orissa State Museum, Cat. No. L 470(B).
31. Debakinandan Dās, Vaiṣṇavabandanā

    Kanhai Khuntia bandon biswa charachar /
    Jagannāth Balaram dui putra jar //

32. Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇavabandanā

    Kanhai Khuntian bande Krsnapremarasakaran /

33. Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇavabandanā Balarām modrinām Karunam yadbasou balajagamāthanchs pada—230.

34. Śrīmat Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B. S., Madhyalīlā, Chapter X, p. 147.

35. Ibid, Chapter XI, p. 154.

36. Ibid, Antyalīlā, Chapter X, p. 331, pada 56-57.

37. Kavikarnapura, Chaitanya Chandradayonātakam edited by Acharya Ramchandra Misra, Varanasi : Choukhamba Sanskrit Series office, 1966, Chap. VIII, p. 258. "Ime Rāmānandarāya sahodara, tanmadhyean bānīnāth paṭṭanāyakaḥ".

38. Śrīmai Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B. S., Madhyalīlā, Chapter X.

    Chandaneswar Singheswar Murari Brahman /

39. Kavikarṇapura, Chaitanyachandradoyanātakam edited by Ramachandra Misra, Varanasi : Choukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966, Chapter VIII, p. 258.

    Ime Chandaneswara Murāri Singheswarā

    Brahmanottoma swabhava Vaisnava /

40. Krishnadās Kavirāja, Chaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā, manuscript preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Catalogue No. L 470(B).

    dhanisthikā lalitāra yuthe yei jana /
    Dāmodar Paṇḍita sei jāniha Kārana //
    bisākhā haiyāchhila purbe yei kalebara /
    ibe keha keha bale ṭhākur Dāmodar //

41. Gajapati Shyāmsundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, manuscript preserved in the Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O. L. 97.

    Āchārya mukunda ye Gaḍuradatta nāma /
    atanti ye dāmodar paṇḍita uttama ye //

42. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University : 1975, Vol. III, Chapter XLIX. p. 176.

    Gobinda āchārya ye hoi /
    Chandana tarakāti sehi //

43. Dāśarathī Dās, Vrajabihār, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O. G. 49.

    bandya Purandar Miśra /
    bandyo āchārya Gobinda //

44. Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇava Bandanā.

    Gobindānandanamāng Ṭhākurang bhaktiyogataḥ
    bande pravosnimittang yadbandha setuseha manaṣaḥ.

45. Brindāban Dās II, Brihat Vaiṣṇavabandanā

    Sugribanāmaka Gobindānanda Ṭhākura /
    prabhu lāgi setubandha karila prachār //

46. Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihāra, manuscript found in Utkal University Library, Cat. No. OL 49.

Bandyo Śrīgopāla guru swāmi sadasaye kari /
Balarām Śrī Gobindadās kabi Karṇapuri //

47. Īśwar Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata, compiled by Dr. A. B. Mohānty, Utkal University, Chapter 65, pada 586.

Gopāla guru dīkshā dei /
Krishnādi mahāmantra kabi //

48. Śrīmat Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Chaitanya Charitāmrita (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhylīlā, Chap. VI, p. 113.

49. Kavi Karṇapura, Chaitanya Chandrodayanātakam, edited by R. C. Misra, Varanasi : Choukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966, Chapter VIII.

50. Dibākar Dās, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chap. VII.

Sārbabhouma agre achhanti /
Gopīnāth āchārya sthiti //

51. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā, manuscript found in Orissa State Museum, Catalogue No. L 470 (B),

"Gopīnāthāchārya tār nāma kahi ibe
Gopīratnamālā prabhu kahila purabe"

52. Īśwar Dās, Chaitanya Bhāgavata, Chap. XLVI.

53. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 BS, Madhylīlā, Chap. X, p. 146.

54. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University, 1975, Vol. I, Chap. XLIX, p. 176.

55. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S.

56 Rūpa Goswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā, Manuscript preserved in the Utkal University Library, Cat. No. 382.

Paraye kauṭhera hāra hārakantha nāma /
Chhoto Haridās sei karilu bidhāna //

57. Krishnadās Kavirāj, Śrī Chaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā, Manuscript preserved in Orissa State Museum, Catalogue No. L 470(B).

"Harakanṭhi nāme sakhi brajera bilās
ebe se jānibe sei Chhoṭa Haridās"

58. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrī Chaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhyalīlā, Chap. XI, p. 153.

59. Dibākar Dāsh, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chap. XXIV.

60. Debakinandana, Vaiṣṇavabandanā

Jagannāth Dās bande sangīta paṇḍit
yār gāna rase Jagannāth bimohita"

61. Nitya Guptamoni, XIX, Sl. No. 19 ; Jagannāth Charitāmrita II ; Īśwara Dās, Śrī Ch. Bhāgavata, Chap. LXV.

62. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Pt. III, Chap. XL.

63. Dibākar Dās, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chap. III.

64. Nityaguptamani, Chap. XXII.

65. Krishnadās Kavirāja, Śrī Chaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā, manuscript preserved in Orissa State Museum, Catalogue No. L 470(B).

    i) bilāsākhyanāme thila dāsa purbakāle /
    Jagannāth Dās nāme ibe kahila bhāle //
    ii) Tinkini nāme chhila purbera bilās /
    ebe se kahila nāma Jagannāth Dās //
    iii) Kāmalatikā sakhi purbe braje bikhyāta /
    ile se jāniba tihon sehon Jagannātha //

66. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrī Chaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhyalīlā, Chap. X, p. 146.

67. Kavikarṇapura, Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka, edited by Āchārya Ramchandra Misra, Varanasi : Choukhamba Sanskrit Series office, 1966, Chap. VIII-3.

68. i) Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇavabandana, ed. by Atul Krishna Dās Goswāmi, pada No. 65, See also
    ii) Jayānanda, Chaitanyamangal, p. 47 ; See also
    iii) Brindāban Dās, Chaitanyabhāgavata, edited by Atul Krishna Goswami, 2nd ed., Adilīlā, Chap. I, pada 11.

69. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhyalīlā, Chap. XI, p. 153.

70. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University, Vol. III, Chap. 49, p. 176.

71. i) Rūpa Goswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā, Manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 382.
    ii) Krishnadās Kavirāj, Chaitanyagaṇoddesadīipikā, manuscript preserved in Orissa State Museum, Cat. No. L 470(B).

72. Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇavabandanā, pada 238.

    Bande Sri Tulasi Misran Kashinatham
    Mahatikam /

73. Kabikarṇapura, Chaitanyachandrodayanātakam, edited by Acharya Ram Chandra Misra, Varanasi : Choukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966, Chap. VIII-2.

74. Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihāra, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Cat. No. O.L. 49.

75. Śri Jiva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇavabandanā,

    Sisukrishnadas sangan srinityananda palitan /
    bande sukhamayan puran pabitran yat kalebaran //
    pada—275-276.

76. Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇavabandanā

    Bandana kariba sisu krishnadasnama /
    prabhur palane yar debya tejodhama //
    pada—133.

77. Brindāban Dās II

    Śiśu Krishnadās bandyo gopaśiśutanu /
    nityānanda swahaste pālita yār tanu //
    pada—132.

78. Achyutānanda Ðās, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal Universty, Vol. III, Chapter XLIX, p. 176.

79. Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.C. 97.

80. Sadaśiva Kavirāj, Chaitanyaganoddesa, manuscript preserved in State Museum.

81. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University, Vol. III, Chap. XLIX, p. 176.

82. Mādhava Paṭṭanāyaka. Chaitanyabilāsa, manuscript preserved in Orissa State, Museum.

83. Śrīmad Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Antya lilā, Chapter II, p 294.

84. Krishnadās Kavirāja, Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā, manuscript preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Catalogue No. L 470(B).

85. Śrīmad Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhya lilā, Chap. X, pada 42.

86. Ibid, Madhya līlā, Chap. XVI, p. 188.

87. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigitā, Utkal University, 1975, Vol. III, p. 176.

88. Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihāra, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 49.

"Bandya Nandan āchārya..........."

89. Gajapati Syāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 97.

"Ātanti Nandan āchārya..........."

90. Rūpa Goswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 382.

Harini Sakhir nāma, sunakali tār
Nandan āchārya rūpa jāniha tābāra.

91. Śrīmat Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Antya līlā, Chapter II.

92. Rāma Dās, Dārdhyatābhakti, Cuttack : Dharmagrantha Store, p. 73.

Uttarkhande tāra ghara
brahmana nāma nīlāmbar.

93. Ibid.

94. Śrīmat Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyaeharitāmrita, (8th ed.); Calcutta, Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S.

Sakala sāstre supandita
jānai pāpa punya kathā.
book—Jaiminibharata
Padmapuranata
1) . Kriyayogasara other name
    Haribhakti ratnamala
2) Dasavatara
    Hitaupadesa
    Rasikamanjari
    Ramalila
    Krusnalila

95. K. N. Mahāpātra, Khurdhā Itihās, pp. 57-58.

96. Śrīmad Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmi, Chaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhy līlā, Chap. X, pada 44, p. 146.

97. Brindāban Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata, edited by Atul Krishna Goswāmi, Antyalīlā, Chap. VIII, pada 212.

98. Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihāra, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No.49.

Bandyo dwija Pītāmbara se Gobinda Ghoshgaṇa.

99. Gajapati Shyāmasundara Deba, Anurāgakalpalata, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 97.

"Bandya Pītāmbar Paṇḍit Kansari sena"

100. Rūpa Goswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. 382.

Premamanjari sakhi ek apurba kathan /
dwija Pītāmbar sei karila barnana //

101. Achyutānanda, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University, 1975, Vol. III, Chap. 49, p. 176.

Dwija se Pitāmbara nāma / premamanjari uttama. //

102. Kavi Karṇapur, Chaitanyachandrodayanātakam, edited by Āchārya Rama Chandra Misra, Varanasi : Choukhamba Sanskrit Series office, 1366, Chapter VIII, p. 258.

103. Śrīmad Krishnadās Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S Madhyalīlā, Chapter I, pada 120 ; See also Chaitanyabhāgavata by Brindābandās.

104. Śrīmad Krishnadās Goswāmi, Śrī Ch. Ch. (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhyalīlā, Chap. I, pada 126 ; See also, Kadacha by Murārī Gupta, Chaitanyachandrodayanātakam by Kavi Karṇapur, Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata by Brindābandās.

105. Achyutānanda Das, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University, 1975, Vol. III, Chapter 49, p. 176.

106. Dāśarathī Dās, Brajabihāra, manuscript preserved in the Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. 49.

"Badyo Laksman āchārya Purusottama Paṇḍita."

107. Rūpa Goswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā, manuscript found in the Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. 382.

Madanalātasa sakhi kahi nāma tāra /
Śrī Purusottama sei karila bistāra //

108. Krishnadās Kavirāja, Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesadīpikā, manuscript preserved in State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Catalogue No. L 470(B).

Madanālasā bali nāma sakhi purbakāle /
Paṇḍita Purusottama ebe kahi bhale //

109. Ibid.

110. Murāri Gupta, Śrī Krishnachaitanyacharitam (3rd ed.), edited by Mrinal Kānti Ghosh, 1st prakarana, Chapter XVII, Sloka 21.

111. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita edited by Rādhā Gobinda Nāth, Madhyalīlā, Chap. X, pada 177.

112. Jay Krishna Dās, Śrīchaitanya Pārisad Janmasthāna Nirṇaya, Bangiya Sahitya Patrika, 1337 B.S., No. 4.

The quotation stands as such :—

Utkale udda Balarām Dās /
Nātha Dās ār tathāi prakās /
Śiśu Krishnadās dwija Rāmachandra ār /
Mādhava nāyaka paṭṭa tathāi prachār /

113. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigītā, Utkal University, 1975, Vol. III, Chapter 49, p. 176.

114. Krishnadās Kavirāja, Śrīchaitanyagaṇodessadīpikā, manuscript preserved in State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Catalogue No. L 470(B).

Śrī Rāma Paṇḍita tār nāma hay ebe /
Śarbagune paripurna chatanujera bhabe //

115. Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita edited by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Adilīlā, Chap. X, p. 54.

116. Krishnadās Kavirāj, Śrīchaitanyagaṇoddesadipikā, manuscript preserved in Orissa State Museum, Catalogue No. L 470(B).

117. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrichaitanyacharitāmrita edited by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Adilīlā, Chap. X, pada 132-134.

118. Ibid, Madhyalīlā, Chap. X, pada 52-54.

119. Ibid, Madhyalīlā, Chap. VIII, pada 296-297.

120. Īśwar Dās, Śrichaitanyabhāgavata, Edited by Dr. A. B. Mohanty, Utkal University.

121. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigitā, Utkal University, Vol. III, Chap. XLIX, p. 176.

Rāya ye Rāmānanda nāma—
bisakha sakhi se uttama.

122. Rūpa Goswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 382.

besakhikā sakhi Krishna nilarasa hay /
seirupa abatirna Rāmānanda Rāi //

Sadāśiva Kavirāja, Chaitanyagaṇoddesa

bisakhāra bhāve haiyā ānandā /
sei bhāve kahe keha rāi Rāmānanda //

123. Sadāśiva Kavirāja, Chaitanyagaṇoddesa, manuscript preserved in Orissa State Museum.

chapala baliā purbe yār hay sthiti /
ṭhākur śaṅkar ebe nāma mahāmati //

124. N. N. Basu, Brāhmanakānda, Part I, p. 295.

125. D. C. Sen. Chaitanya and his companions, Calcutta, p. 82.

126. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Chaitanyacharitāmrita ed. by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Madhyalīlā, Chap. VI.

127. Kavi Karṇapur Chaitanyachandrodayanātakam edited by Āchārya Rām Chandra Misra, Varanasi : Choukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1966, Chap. VIII, p. 258.

128. Achyutānanna Dās, Gurubhaktigitā Utkal University, 1975, Vol. III, Chap. XLIX, p. 176.

"Śikhi Mahanti yehu hoi
Śaśikala ye gopi sehi

129. Rūpagoswāmi, Swarūpabarṇanā, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Cat. No. 382.

Śaśike nindaye nāma Śaśikalā yār /
Śikhi mohānty kise janiba bistār //

130. Dāśarathi Dās, Brajabihāra, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 49.

Kāshi Miśra Śikhi Mohānty se Kālidās ādi

131. Krishnadās Kavirāj, Chaitanyagaṇoddesadipikā, manuscript preserved in Orissa State Museum, Catalogue No. L 470(B).

Śaśikalā nāma chhila purbera yubati /
ibe se kahiye nāma Śri Śikhi Mahānty //

132. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Chaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Adilila, Chap. X, p. 54.

133. Dr. S. Sen, Vaiṣṇaviya Nibandha, Calcutta : Rupa, 1970, p. 58.

134. Kavi Karṇapur, Chaitanyachandrodayanātakam edited by Āchārya Rāmachandra Misra, Varanasi : Sanskrit Series Office, 1966, Chap. VIII, p. 258.

135. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Chaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.). Calcutta : Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhylīlā, Chap. X.

Jagannāth Mahāsowar ihodāsa nāma

136. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigitā, Utkal University, 1975, Vol. III, Chap. XLIX, p. 176.

Śrināthа Miśra ye tāranām mohangopi se jāṇā.

137. Sadāśiva Kavirāja, Chaitanyagaṇoddesa, manuscript found at Orissa State Museum.

Brajanāme purbe yei krishnera paṇa nāti /
Śrināth ebe kahi leki āti //
Bichitrangi name sakhi bichitra bhusaṇa /
ibe se Śrināth Miśra kahila Karaṇa //

138. Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhaktigitā, Utkal University, 1975, Vol. III, Chap. XLIX, p. 176.

139. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Chaitanyacharitāmrita, (8th ed.), Calcutta, Basumati Sāhitya Mandir, 1359 B.S., Madhyalilā, Chapter 16, p. 188.

140. Ibid, Madhyalilā, Chap. XII, p. 159.

141. Īśwara Dās, Śrichaitanyabhāgavata, compiled by Dr. A. B. Mohānty, Utkal University. Chap. XLVI.

142. Śudaiśan Dās, Chourāsi Ājñā, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Chap. XLIII.

143. Dāśarathi Dās, Brajabihāra, manuscript preserved in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 39.

Madhusudan Paṇḍit Viṣṇudās pada mātha /
bandyo makara paṇḍita dāsa dwija raghunāth //

144. Gajapati Shyāmasundaradeva, Anurāgakalpalatā, manuscript found in Utkal University Library, Catalogue No. O.L. 97.

Abanideva ye Raghunāth Viṣṇudās /

* * * *

manikundal āchhi yār purbe kalebari
Viṣṇudās nāma ebe kahila tatpari //

Chapter Six

FOLLOWER-POETS OF CHAITANYA'S IN BENGAL

In the previous chapter we have discussed about the followers of Śrīchaitanya who lived in Orissa. In this chapter we would like to portrait the persons of Bengal who came in close contact with the Master. They came from different sphere of life. They were devout Vaiṣṇavas, monotheists, Jainas, Buddhists, Śāktas, Smārtas and even Muslims who abandoning all complex trends of thought and accepted a sanctuary in Vaiṣṇavism which provided them with a capacious atmosphere of love.

The principle sources in which the names of Bengali follower-poets, their identity, accomplishments, philosophy described are the biographies of Śrīchaitanya written in Sanskrit and Bengali by Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Jayānanda, Brindābandās and others of 16th century. Of these three biographies, *Śrīchaitanya-charitāmrita* gives in details the information in respect of the followers of Śrīchaitanya.

Besides these works, there are also books by some other scholars like Locan Dās, Gobinda Dās and Murāri Gupta of the same age which provided with relevant information about the tradition.

For the sake of clarity we have classified these followers into three sections. The first section describes without detailed information all the names of those persons who are found in various books. In the second group we shall be able to find out the followers who were deeply related with the Master. The last part will illustrate the names of those bhaktas who have not been included in the preceeding sections. It not only describes their relations with the Master but also takes into account their literary contributions such as Krishna-kathā and Gourāngalīlā.

SECTION A

The names of Bengali Vaiṣṇava followers of Śrīchaitanya fonnd in different biographical works written during the lifetime of Śrīchaitanya and afterwards along with the names of the books in which they are mentioned.

1.	Asara Purī	disciple of Mādhavendra Purī Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya-mangala, p. 34.
2.	Banamālī Kavichandra	disciple of Adwaita Ācharya Prabhu, Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitāmrita, edited by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Ādilila—12/67 "Banamāli Kavichandra ār Baidyanāth"; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śri Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava abhedhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwipa, Haribol Kutir, 471 Ch. Era. p. 1359.

3. Ballava Rangavati	resident of Kāshi, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita.
4. Basanta	disciple of Nityānanda Prabhu, Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, edited by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Ādilīlā—11/50, "Basanta—Nabani thode—Gopāla-Sanātan. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gauḍiya Vaiṣṇava abhedhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwipa, Haribol Kutir, 471 Ch.Era. p. 1359.
5. Bānīnāth Brahmachāri	disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit, Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswami, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita—edited by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Adilīlā Chapter.
6. Bāmāraṇya	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 68.
7. Bijoy Dās	belonged to group of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, edited by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Ādilīlā—12/61, "Jādaba Dās, Bijoy Dās, Dās Janārdan".
8. Bijoy Paṇḍit	included in the group of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, edited by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Ādilīlā—12/65, "Bijoy Paṇḍit ār Śrīrāma Paṇḍit".
9. Bidyānanta Āchārya	Belonged to Gadādhar group. No other information available.
10. Bisnāi Hāzrā	belonged to group of Nityānanda Prabhu, Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, edited by Rādhāgobinda Nāth, Ādilīlā, 11-50; "Banamālī Kavichandra ār Baidyanāth" :- Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava abhedhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwipa, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era. p. 1359.
11. Bishnudās Baidya	Śrījiva Goswāmi—Vaiṣṇavabandanā, Sloka-31, Debakinandan—Vaiṣṇavabandanā, Sloka-9.
12. Brihachchhisu	known as Patraka, Kasikarnapur, Gouraganodelesadipikā.
13. Brahmagiri	Jayananda—Srīchaitanyamangal, p. 88.
14. Baidyanāth	belonged to Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, Ādilīlā—Chapter 12-36. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1378.

15. Bhagabān Miśra	disciple of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, Ādilīlā, Chapter 10-108. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471 Ch.Era, p. 1299.
16. Bhāgabatāchārya	disciple of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, Ādilīlā, Chapter 12-56. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1300.
17. Bhārgaba Āchārya	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 88.
18. Bhārgaba Puri	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 2.
19. Bholānath Dās	disciple Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, Ādilīlā, Chapter 12, Line 60. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śridhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1301.
20. Durlabha Biswās	belonged to group of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-59.
21. Garuḍa	born at Gouḍa, known as Kumuda-Kavikarnapur, Gouraganoddesadipikā, Sloka-116. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śridhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1201.
22. Gunaniddhi	known as Nidhi-Kavikarnapur, Gouraganoddesodipikā, Sloka-102-103. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śridhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1202.
23. Gokula Dās	born at Ghorāghāt, belonged to group of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-49. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śridhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1203.
24. Gopāla	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-47. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1205.
25. Gopāla Āchārya	disciple of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-104. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1205.
26. Gopāladās	according to Kavikarnapur he was known as Paligopi, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-113;

		Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śridhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1207.
27.	Gopāla Nartak	belonged to group of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-50 ; Kavikarnapur, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, Mohakavya 11-50.
28.	Gopāla Purī	Jayānanda—Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 134.
29.	Gopīkānta	disciple of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-110 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1210.
30.	Hari Āchārya	according to Jadunāth Dās he belonged to Gadādhar group, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-84 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1407.
31.	Kalakshi	Kavikarnapur, Gouraganoddesadīpikā.
32.	Haridās Brahmachāri	disciple of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-162 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1400.
33.	Hari Nandi	Jayānanda Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 88.
34.	Hastigopāla	belonged to Gadādhar group, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-86 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1420.
35.	Harini	Kavikarnapur, Gouraganoddesadīpikā.
36.	Jadunāth	belonged to school of Śrīchaitanya a resident of Kulingrām. Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, edited by Rādhāgovind Nāth, Ādilīlā, 10-80.
37.	Jagannātha Kar	disciple of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, Kāyastha by caste, Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, edited by Rādhāgovinda Nāth, Ādilīlā, 12.
38.	Jagannāth Kavichandra	disciple of Nityānanda's group, Brahmin by caste, Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmi, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, edited by Rādhāgovinda Nāth, Ādilīlā, Chapter 11.134.
39.	Jagāi Lekhak	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 47.
40.	Janārdan Dās	belonged to Adwaita Āchārya, KKG, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-12-60 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya

		Vaishnab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1243.
41.	Jitāmitra	disciple of Godādhar Pandit, KKG, Śrichaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-83 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaishnab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1247.
42.	Jadunandan	follower of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-119 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1320.
43.	Jādabadās	disciple of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-61 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1323.
44.	Kānu Pandit	Brāhmin, belonged to group of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-61 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1168.
45.	Krishnadās	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-46.
46.	K maka Purī	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 2.
47.	Lakshmināth Pandit	disciple of Gadādhar Pandit, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-65 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 421, Ch. Era, p. 1354 ; Kavikarnapur-Gouraganoddesadīpikā.
48.	Loknāth	follower of Śrīchaitanya, Jadunāth Dās, Sākhānirnayamritam.
49.	Mahidhar	belonged to Nityānanda School, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-45 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1308.
50.	Mahesh Pandit	companion of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-109-111 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām, Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1308 ; In Gouraganoddesadīpikā of Kavikarnapur he was included in the group of Nityānanda.
	Mahendra Giri	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, Charitāmrita, p. 88.

52.	Makaradhwaja	known as Sukesi in Gouraganoddesadīipikā of Kavikarnapur, Sloka-168. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1301.
53.	Manoratha Purī	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 88.
54.	Mādhaba	belonged to Nityānanda group, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-48 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1308.
55.	Mādhaba Pandit	belonged to Adwaita group, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12 64 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1310.
56.	Mālādhar Brahmachāri	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 70.
57.	Mukunda	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 11-49.
58.	Mukunda	belonged to other branch of Śrīchaitanya lineage, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-106 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471. Ch. Era, p. 1315.
59.	Nabani Hode	follower of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-50 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1271.
60.	Nakadi	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-48.
61.	Nandāi	follower of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-143/144.
62.	Nandāi	follower of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-49 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1264.
63.	Nrisimha Chidānanda Tīrtha	known as Jayanteya in the Gouraganoddesadīpikā of Kavikarnapur.
64.	Nrisimha Yati	Jayānanda, Chaitanyamangal, p. 88.

65. **Paramānanda**	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, Adabhuta 1-11-49 ; Śrī Jīva Goswami, Vaiṣṇavabandanā, Sloka-266 ; Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇavabandanā, Sloka-128 ; Brindābandās, Vaiṣṇavabandanā, Sloka-127.
66. **Paramānanda Upādhyāya**	belonged to group of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-44 ; Brindāban Dās, Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabat, 3-6-74 ; Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 145 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1278.
67. **Pradyumna Giri**	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 88.
68. **Puspagopāl**	disciple of Gadādhar Pandit, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-84 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1287.
69. **Raghunāth Dās**	belonged to group of Adwaita Āchārya, Śrī Jība Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka-191 ; Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka 106 ; Premabilās, 20 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1325.
70. **Raghunāth Miśra**	devotee of Śrīchaitaya, also known as Karpuramanjari in Gouraganoddesadīpikā of Kavikarnapur.
71. **Ratnākar Pandit**	follower of Śrīchaitanya, also known as Nidhi in Gouraganoddesadīpikā of Kavikarnapur, Sloka 103 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1329.
72. **Rāmatīrtha**	devotee of Śrīchaitanya, Kavikarnapur, Gouraganoddesadīpikā, Sloka 101, Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka 269 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1343.
73. **Rāmabhadra**	son of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-53 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch. Era, p. 1347.
74. **Rāmadās Bālak**	Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka 252 ; Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka 122.
75. **Rāmanath**	
76. **Rāma Sen**	Baidya by caste, disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-51 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya

	Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, S´rīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch.Era. p. 1347.
77. Ramadas Kabichandra	Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇababandana, Sloka 106 ; Debakinanda, Vaisnababandanā, Sloka 33 ; Brundābandās II, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka 36.
78. Sankar	resident of Kulingrām, disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-52 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, S´rīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch.Era, p. 1374.
79. Sankar	belonged to Śrīchaitanya's group of disciple, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-80 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1374.
80. Satya Giri	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 88.
81. Satyānand Bharati	also known as Jayentiya, disciple of Śrīchaitanya, Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka 130 ; Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka 48 ; Brindābandās II, Vaiṣṇababandanā, Sloka 44 ; Kavikarnapur, Gouraganoddesodīpikā, Sloka 98-100.
82. Sibai	belonged to group of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-49 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch.Era, p. 1383.
83. Siddhānanda Āchārya	Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 73 ; Nāmāmrita, Sloka 207.
84. Śrī	Wife of Adwaita, Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1388.
85. Śrībatsa Paṇḍit	disciple of Adwcita Āchārya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10.
86. Śrībatsa Paṇḍit	disciple of Adwaita Āchārya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12.
87. Śrīdhara	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-45 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip Haribol Kutir, 471 Ch.Era, p. 1390.
88. Śrīdhara Brahmachāri	disciple of Gadādhara, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-79 ; Kavikarnapur, Gouraganoddesadīpikā Sloka 94.

89.	Śrihari Āchārya	disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit, Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Mangal, p. 83 ; KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-84 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1395.
90.	Śrīhari Paṇḍit	Jayānanda, Śrichaitanya Mangal, p. 73.
91.	Śrīmanta	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-49 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Goụḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip Haribol Kutīr, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1310.
92.	Śrinātha Chakraverty	disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-83 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch-Era, p. 1391.
93.	Śrinidhi	disciple of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-108/109 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era, p. 1392.
94.	Śriranga Kavirāj	Vaidya by caste, disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-51 ; Śrī Haridās Dās Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch Era, p. 1394.
95.	Śrirāma	disciple of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-108.
96.	Śrirāma	disciple of Rasikānanda.
97.	Śrirāma Paṇḍit	disciple of Adwaita Āchārya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-12-65 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch.Era. p. 1294.
98.	Śrīrāma Tīrtha	bhakta of Śrīchaitanya, Śrī Jiva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇava Bandanā, Sloka 269 ; Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇava Bandanā, Sloka 130 ; Brindābandās II, Vaiṣṇava Bandanā, Sloka 129 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Sridhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch.Era, p. 1314.
99.	Sudāma Brahmachāri,	according to Jadunāth Dās he was disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit.
100.	Sulochan	disciple of Śrīchaitanya, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-78 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch.Era, p. 1403.

101. Sulochan	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-10-70 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śri Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir, 471, Ch.Era. p. 1403.
102. Suddhasaraswātī	companion of Śrīchaitanya, an ascetic ; Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇaba Bandanā, Sloka 157.
103. Sukhānanda Purī	disciple of Mādhabendra Puri, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-9-14 ; Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Vaiṣṇaba Bandanā, Sloka 128 ; Debakinadan, Vaiṣṇaba Bandanā, Sloka 47 ; Śri Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch.Era, p. 1402.
104. Surya	disciple of Nityānanda, KKG, Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita, 1-11-48 ; Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇab Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip, Haribol Kutir 471, Ch.Era, p. 1403.

According to Jayānanda, the following 32 ladies were present when Biswambhar started for Gaya. Among them we can find out informations about Nārāyanī, Mālinī, Sītā, Chandramukhī, Visnuprīyā. The other 27 ladies are new and have no information in any book. They were : Mālinī, Jayā, Chitralekhā, Sulochanā, Māyābatī, Chhāyā, Subhadrā, Kousalyā, Khemā, Mudrikā, Jānakī, Chandrakalā, Ratnamālā, Uṣā, Nandavaiṣṇabī, Bhāgyabatī, Jāhnabi, Gourī, Satyabhāmā, Sābitrī, Vijayā, Lakshmī, Rukminī, Pārbatī, Jāmbabatī, Arundhutī, Champā, Saraswatī.

SECTION B

The names of those persons who were not only followers but also related with the Master in some way or the other. They were :

Abhirām

The name of Abhirām is included in the Śrīchaitanya and Nityānanda group of disciple, given in the *Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita*. He was a Brāhmiṇ, residing at Khānākul of Hooghly district. In some unpublished books like *Abhirāmalīlāmriia*, *Abhirāmapatala*, and *Abhirāmabandana* we can see a few miraculous stories regarding Abhirāma. According to Jayānanda[1] Gourānga lived six months in the house of Abhirāma, but we do not have any reference to this fact in other biographies. It is said that Gopināth idol at Khānākul was established by him.

Achyutānanda

Achyutānanda was eldest son of Adwaita, Brāhmiṇ and living at Śāntipur. We have seen his name is included in Śrīchaitanya and Adwaita group of disciple ;

but according to Jadunāth Dās he was found in Gadādhar group of disciple. In *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* of Brindāban Dās II we can see that he took the vow of ascetic life in his boy hood. Although all the sons of Adwaita were not great devotee of Śrīchaitanya as per description of Brindāban Dās yet KKG had mentioned all the names of Adwaita's son in his *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita.* It indicates that grandsons of Adwaita honoured Śrīchaitanya as God. In *Premabilāsa*[2] Sītā Debi told that the sons differed in their opinion.

Kavi-Karnapur called him as Achyutagopī in his *Śrīchaitanyaganoddesadīpikā.*

Āchārya Chandra

It is said that Āchārya Chandra was Brāhmiṇ and disciple of Nityānanda. He was famous for his idea of doctrine of love. Śrī Jīva Goswāmi, Debakinandan and Brindāban Dās II have called him premamaya.

Āchārya Ratna

Āchāryaratna was a Brāhmiṇ residing at Nabadwipa. There are some biographers described Chandraśekhar Āchārya as Āchāryaratna but in *Vaiṣṇavabandana* of Debakinandan[3] they are identified as two different persons.

Adwaita

Adwaita was a well known devotee of Śrīchaitanya, originally a resident of Syllet, later on settled at Śāntipur. He was initiated by Mādhavendra Purī. Kavikarnapur called him as Sadāsiva. It is said that the influence of Adwaita was a constant source of inspiration for Śrīchaitanya. He established the worshipping of Madanamohana at Śāntipur. It is also said that Adwaita had brought about Śrīchaitanya in this world.[4]

Akrura

We have no other information about Akrura except the statement given by Jadunāth Dās in his *Shākānnayāmrita* in which Akrura was stated to be a disciple of Gadādhar.

Ananta Chattopādhyāya Śrīkanṭhavaran

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* and Jadunāth Dās he was a disciple of Gadādhar. He was Brāhmiṇ and known as Kanṭhavaran. He was known as Gopāli in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur. We have found the word Kanṭhabharan in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*.

Ananta Purī

Ananta Purī was a resident of Bara Beluna in the district of Burdwan. He was one of the famous sages among the renowned eight (asta siddhi). He was referred to in various Vaiṣṇava bandanas written by Srījība Goswāmī, Debakinandan and Brindāban Dās II. According to Jayānanda he was a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. He was not found in any other biographical works; but he was referred to in Abhirām Dās's Patpatan.

Anubhabānanda

We have no other information except the statement made by Śrījiba Goswāmi, Debakinandan and Brindāban Dās II. He was a companion of Śrīchaitanya and an ascetic.

Anupamaballava

Anupamaballava was a Brāhmiṇ and the father of Śrī Jīva Goswāmi. He was a devotee of Rāma; and so his name was not mentioned in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* and *Vaiṣṇavabandanā*. He was younger brother of Rūpa and Sanātan.

Asura Purī

It is said in the *Chaitanya Mangala* by Jayānanda that he was disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. No other information is found in other biographical words.

Baidyanāth

Baidyanāth belonged to Adwaita group as revealed from *Chaitanyacharitāmrita.*[5] No other information is found.

Bakreśwar

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita,* Bakreśwar was disciple of Śrīchaitanya but according to Jadunāth Dās was disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. He was a Brāhmiṇ and resident of Akana in the district of Hooghly. We can see in the *Chaitanya Chandrodayanātakam* that he was one of the important associates of Śrīchaitanya during Nabadwipalīlā. He was very influential person in the Vaiṣṇava community and preached Chaitanyaism in south and western India.

Balarām

Balarām was the 4th son of Adwaita. He belonged to Adwaita group.

Ballabha Āchārya

Ballabha Āchārya was the founder of one schools of followers which was known by his name Ballabhāchāri Sampradāya. He was mentioned in the *Vaiṣṇava Bandanā* of Śrī Jīva and *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*. Kavikarnapur called him Bhatta Sukadeva.

Ballava Chaitanyadās

He was disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit and known as Thākur Ballava in Brāhmiṇ Samāja. He, at the instance of Śrīchaitanya established his preaching ground at Panchasara. He was very strong person. Muslim ruler gave him *jāyagīr* of 60 number villages. He was married to daughter of Purnachandra Bhattāchārya. He had 4 sons and one daughter. The youngest son Rāmakīrtan established *Dantasorobar* at Brindāban.

Ballava Sen

Ballava Sen was a resident of Kānchisāli, nephew of Sibānanda Sen, who was father of Karnapura. His name is found in *Vaiṣṇava Bandanā* of Debakinandan and in *Chaitanya Chandrodayanātaka* of Karṇapura. He was a great *bhakta* of the Master. We have seen that in *Chaitanyachandrodayanātak* Sārbabhouma welcomed him.

Ballavāchārya

Ballabhāchārya was the father of Lakshmī Devi, the first wife of Biswambhara. He was referred to in most of the *Vaiṣṇavabandana* and biographies.

Banamālī Āchārya (Ghatak)

Banamālī Āchārya was a Brāhmiṇ living at Nabadwip who was the negotiator of marriage of Chaitanya with Lakshmipriyā. He was referred to in almost all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and biographies. He contacted Ballavāchārya, the father of Lakshmī at the instance of Sachīdevī and the marriage was performed. He belonged to the school of Śrīchaitanya.

Banamālī Dās

It is known from *Vaiṣṇababandanā* that Banamālī Dās was brother of Viṣṇu Dās Baidya. Rāmgopal Dās[6] in his *Śākhābarnanā* says that Banamālī Kavirāj was a disciple of Raghunandan. It is also said that his surname may be 'Kabirāja'. He belonged to Adwaita group of disciple.

Banamālī Kabichandra

He belonged to Adwaita group. Krishnadās Kavirāj in his *Śrīchaitanya charitāmrita* has written his name along with Baidyanāth.

Banamālī Paṇḍit

Banamālī Paṇḍit was an inhabitant of Nabadwipa, a Brāhmiṇ. He was referred to as one of the great devotees of Śrīchaitanya in all the biographies and *Vaiṣṇavabandanās.* In the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* he was found chanting *Hari nama* along with other devotees in front of Śrīchaitanya. He was also known as Gouraballava, a resident of Nabadwipa. He became mad seeing the *Hala* and *Musala* in the hands of Śrīchaitanya at the residence of Śrībāsa Paṇḍit. He was also referred to in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur.

Basudhā Sarkhel

Basudhā, daughter of Suryadās, was the wife of Nityānanda and belonged to Baruni group according to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*. Her name was found in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva, Debakinandana and Brindāban Dās II. She was found very congenial in preaching the philosophy of Śrīchaitanya by her husband and great assistant to Nityānanda.

Bānīnāth Basu

Bānīnāth Basu was a Kāyastha, living in the village Kulingram, district Burdwan. He was disciple of Śrīchaitanya according to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita.*

Bānīnāth Bipra

Bānīnāth Bipra, a Brāhmiṇ, of the village Chāpāhāti near Nabadwipa. It is said that he had established Goura-gadādhar idol which is worshipped till now there. He was a devotee of Śrīchaitanya.

Bānīnāth Brahmachārī

Bānīnāth Brahmachārī belonged to Gadadhar group. He was guru of Maharastrians. He built the permanent temple at Sākshigopāl. During the reign of Dibyasingha II he brought the Arunastambha from Konārka to Puri.

Bāmāranya

According to Jayānanda Bāmāranya was a great devotee of Krishna and follower of Śrīchaitanya.

Bāsudeva

Bāsudeva was a Brāhmiṇ, residing at Kurmakshetra, in the southern India and different from Bāsudeva Sārbabhouma generally known as Sārbabhouma Bhattāchārya, when the master went to south for pilgrimage he freed Bāsudeba at Kurmakshetra.[8]

Bāsudeva Dwija

Bāsudeva Dwija was a Brāhmiṇ living at Nabadwipa. The day on which Śrīchaitanya acted as Rādhā, Bāsudeva Dwija dressed all the other actors. He was *nepathyarachanakar*.[9]

Bāsudeva Tirtha

The name of Bāsudeva Tīrtha is found only in the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva Goswāmi, Debakinandan and Brindāban Dās II. In the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* his name is mentioned. He was bhakta (devotee) of Śrīchaitanya.

Bhabānanda Goswāmī

According to Jadunāth Bhabānanda Goswāmī belonged to Gadādhar subgroup. In the *Bhaktiratnākar*[10] his name was referred to as friend of Śrī Madhu Paṇḍit and he felt pleasure by worshipping Gopīnāth.

Bhagabān Āchārya

Bhagabān Āchārya was the son of Satananda Khān, brother of Gopāla Bhattāchārya and a resident of Gouda. According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* Bhagabān Āchārya engaged himself in serving Master leaving all other works. In *Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka*, we have also seen his name.

Bhagabān Miśra

Bhagabān Miśra, was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanyadeb as revealed from the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāja. The author enlisted the names of those bhaktas who were initiated by the Master. Bhagabān Miśra was mentioned along with others such as Śrīnāth Miśra, Subhānanda, Śrīrām, Īśān, Śrīnidhi Miśra and Gopīkānta.

Bhagabān Kar

Bhagabān Kar belonged to Adwaita group. In the gouḍiya edition of *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[11] his name was written as Bhabanāth Kar.

Bhagabān Paṇḍit

Bhagabān Paṇḍit was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanyadeva. According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[12] he was very favourite of the Master. It is said that Krishna appeared in the body of Bhagabān Paṇḍit. Brindāban Dās[13] has also described him as the literature. He was very favourite of the Master.

Bhāgabatāchārya

In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we have seen four Bhāgabatāchārya such as in Chaitanya group—Bhāgavatāchārya Sāranga Dās, and Bhāgavatāchārya Chiranjib. In Adwaita and Gadādhara group there is one each. It seems that first two were Sāranga Dās and Chiranjib and regarding the third one every thing is unknown. The fourth Bhāgabaṭāchārya seems to be a person who was identical with Bhāgavatāchārya of Barāhnagar and belonged to Gadādhar group of disciple.

Bhāgabata Dās

Bhāgabata Dās was a resident of Brindāban. According to Jadunāth he belonged to Gadādhar school of disciples. In the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* he was found along with Bhugarbha Goswāmī[14].

Bhārgaba Achārya

In the *Chaitanya Mangal* of Jayānanda we can find his name as follower of Śrīchaitanya. Other books are silent about him.

Bhārgaba Purī

The name of Bhārgaba Purī is also found in *Chaitanya Mangal* of Jayānanda.

Bhāskar Thākur

Bhāskar Thākur was a carpenter (Sutradhar) by caste and resident of Dāinhat in the district of Burdwān. In Gouraganoddesadīpikā he was described as Viśwakarmā. Jībagoswāmī also described him as such. He was a follower of Śrīchaitanya Mahāprabhu.

Bholānāth Dās

Bholānāth Dās was a follower of Śrīchaitanya and included in the list of names of Adwaita School.[15] No other information is found elsewhere.

Bhugarbha Gosāin

According to Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita and Jadunāth, Bhugarbha Gosāin was included in the Gadādhar school of disciples. It is described in the Charitāmrita that Rūpa Goswāmī along with Bhugarbha and other followers visited Śrīkrishna in the house of Bitthaleswar at Mathurā. In Gouraganoddesadīpikā he was identified as Premamanjari. He was uncle of Lokanāth Goswāmī.

Bidyā Bāchaspati

He was the brother of Sārbabhouma Bhattāchārya, living near the village Kuliā. According to Jayānanda, his native house was at village Piralya, at present known as Parulia.

It is said that Śrīchaitanya became guest in the house of Bāchaspati when he returned back to Gouḍadesa. His name is found among the names of gurus in dedication of *Brihatvaisnavatosini* written by Sanātan Goswāmī.

Besides these he was also referred to in other books like *Murārī Gapter Kaḍachā*, *Srīchaitanya Bhāgabat*, *Chaitanya Mangal*, and *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*.

Bidyānanda

Bidyānanda was one of the followers as mentioned in the list given by Krishnadās Kavirāja in his *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*. According to Rāmagopāl Dās[16] he was described as the disciple of Gadādhar and resident of Gulingrām.

Bidyānanta Āchārya

According to Jadunāth Bidyānanta Āchārya belonged to Gadādhar lineage. No other information is available.

Bidyānidhi

The name of Bidyānidhi is found in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur. Śrījīva Goswāmī also has mentioned his name in *Vaiṣṇavabandanā.* Other literary works were silent about him. He was a companion of Śrīchaitanya and famous among nabanidhi.

Bijaya Dās (Akharia)

According to Krishnadās Kavirāja Bijaya Dās belonged to Chaitanya group, a resident of Nabadwipa. He used to sing Kīrtan with the Master.

Bijoy Paṇḍit

Krishnadās Kavirāja in his *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* says that Bijoy Paṇḍit was a disciple of Adwaita.

Biṣṇāi Hāzrā

According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* of Kavirāja Goswāmī, Biṣṇāi Hāzrā belonged to Nityānanda School.

Bijuli Khān

Bijuli Khān was originally a Pāthān. Later on he was converted to Vaiṣṇava. Bijuli Khān was prince of Pāthān Bādsāh. He came along with his servant. He took shelter with Śrīchaitanya. The Master offered him religious shelter and was kind enough towards him. Bijuli Khān and other muslims became Vaiṣṇava. Later on he preached the activities of the Master and became famous.

Biṣṇudās

Biṣṇudās was a Brāhmiṇ, residing at Nabadwipa. He was a teacher of Biswambhara. His name can be found in Śrījīva Goswāmī, Devakinandan and Brindābandās II. He belonged to group of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu.

Biṣṇudās

According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* Śrīchaitanyadeva was living with Biṣṇudās at Nīlāchala. He was Kāyastha by caste. His father was Sadāsiva. It is said that he lived at Sanoragrām of Dacca district at the instance of Śrīchaitanyadeva. He was a disciple of Nityānanda.

Biṣṇudās Āchārya

Biṣṇudās Āchārya was brother of Nandan Āchārya of Nabadwipa. He was a Brāhmiṇ. According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* he belonged to Adwaita group of followers. No further information is discovered till now.

Bişṇudās Baidya

In the biographical works his name is dropped but in the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās of* Śrījīva, Debakinandan and Brindābandās II his name is included. This proves that he was one of the followers of Śrīchaitanya. He was a resident of Kumārnagar and disciple of Narottama Thākur.

Biśweswarānanda Āchārya

The name of this follower is found in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur. There are other books like *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva, Debakinandan and Brindābandās II. He was a favourite follower of Śrīchaitanya.

Biśwarūpa

Biśwarūpa was the elder brother of Śrīchaitanyadeva. He left his house on the pre-marriage night and never returned. The impact of his leaving home for good have an unique bearing upon the younger brother, Biśwambhara. He was a taught of Adwaita. Śachidebī, mother of Śrīchaitanya had a permanent hostility towards Adwaita.

Bişṇupriyā

Bişṇupriyā Devi was 2nd wife of Biśwambhara Miśra. Her name is found in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur and also included in various *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*. Besides these books, other books of Vaiṣṇavas and on Vaiṣṇavas has included her name. It is said that she established an idol of Śrīchaitanya and worshipped him. She sacrificed all her worldly pleasure for the sake of her husband.

Brahmagiri

In *Chaitanya Maṅgal* of Jayānanda we can see Brahmagiri as a follower of Śrīchaitanyadeva along with other persons.

Brahmānanda

In Śrīchaitanya Bhāgavata we have found that one Brahmānanda engaged in *Kirtan* with Biśwambhar in the house of Śrībāsa. He acted as a friend of Rukmini in a drama staged in the house of Śrībāsa. He also accompanied Śrīchaitanya to Nilāchala. It is said that he was not the same person as Brahmānanda Purī or Brahmānanda Bhārati, disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. Yadunāth Dās in his *Śākhānirnaya* identified him as the disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. His relation with Śrīchaitanya was deep.

Brahmānanda Bhāratī

According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* Brahmānanda was disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. In the *Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka* we have seen that Mukunda reported

Śrīchaitanya the arrival of Brahmānanda and told him whether he would bring Brahmānanda inside. Śrīchaitanya told Mukunda that he would go. Then he went out to welcome Brahmānanda. Brahmānanda described the glory of Nilāchala and said that two Brahma being worshipped there, one is Gouḍa and the other is Nīla.

Brahmānanda Purī.

Brahmānanda Purī was a disciple of Mādhabendra Purī. He was present when Śrīchaitanya left for Nīlāchala. His name was mentioned in Śrījīva Goswāmī and Debakinandan in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās.* Brindāban Dās in *Chaitanyabhāgavat* also referred to his name among others such as Īśwara Purī.

Brihachchhiśu

Brihachchhiśu is referred to in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapura. No other information is found in any other books.

Buddhimanta Khān

According to *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* Buddhimanta Khān had borne the total expenditure of marriage of Śrīchaitanya with Biṣṇupriyā. He is found in almost all the contemporary Vaiṣṇava literatures. He was a *Zamindār* of Nabadwip and leading a life of Brahmachārī.

Chaitanyadās

There were nine persons in the name of Chaitanyadās. The first one was Āula Chaitanyadās, disciple of Jāhnabī Debī, resident of Banaviṣṇupur of Bankura district. The second one was the son of Śibānanda, Baidya by caste, resident of Kanchanpalli. Chaitanyadās accompanied his father, Śibānanda[17] to see Śrīchaitanya with great enjoyment. Once at the time of car festival, Śibānanda brought his son, Chaitanyadās but the Master hearing the name laughed at. Afterwards the boy served the Master with various sacrifices (*prasāda*).[18] The third one was disciple of Adwaita Āchārya. The fourth one was the disciple of Bhugarbha Gosāin, grand disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. He had written the Bālabodini commentary of Gītagobinda. The fifth one was another name of Gangādhar Bhattāchārya, father of Śrīnivās Āchārya and the sixth one was the son of Bansibadan.

Chaitanyadās

This Chaitanyadās was enlisted in the Gadādhar group of disciple. We have found a little difference in the description of Gouḍiya edition of *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* with other edition. Poem Numbers 463, 1169 and 1985 of *Padakalpataru* might have been written by him.

Chaitanyadās

Jadunāth Dās had mentioned two Chaitanyadās in the Gadādhar school of disciple. Except this no other information is found till now.

Chakrapāni Majumdār

Chakrapāni Majumdār was a disciple of Narahari Sarkār Thākur. From *Śākhānirnaya* of Rāmgopāl Dās we can see that Chakrapāni Majumdār had gone to Nilāchal and met Gourānga there. Śrīchaitanya addressed him as servant of Narahari Sarkār.[19]

Chakrapāni Āchārya

Chakrapāni Āchārya was included in the list of Adwaita as described in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[20]. According to Bhaktamāl written in Bengali he had gone to Gujarāt for religious preaching after meeting Krishnadās Gangamālī. He was founder of Chhota Gouḍiya Gadi. In *Nāmāmrita* he was referred to.

Chandramukhī (Debi)

Chandramukhī was daughter of Suryadās Paṇḍit, wife of Rādhākrisṇa Āchārya, son of Śrīnivās Āchārya. She was initiated by Īśwarī Debī. Her name was only found in Jayānanda's *Śrīchaitanya Mangal*[21].

Chandraśekhar Vaidya (Dās)

Chandraśekhar was first an inhabitant of Syllet and afterwards migrated to Benaras. He was one of the followers of Śrīchaitanya as revealed in *Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita*[22] (Gouḍiya Edition). In the introduction pages of *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* (Gouḍiya Edition) his name was written as Chandraśekhar Lekhak. Besides *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* his name was found in Kaḍachā of Murārī Gupta. He was also known as Chandraśekhar Dās, Chandraśekhar Vaidya and Chandraśekhar Śudra. He was resident of Benaras and deeply related with Tapan Miśra. The master stayed in his house at Benaras.

Chaturbhuja Paṇḍit

Chaturbhuja Paṇḍit was the father of Nityānanda. *Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabat* and *Chaitanya Mangal* has referred to his name. According to *Chaitanya Mangal*[23], he was very close friend of Nityānanda and Swarupa. He was resident of Nabadwipa and a great bhakta.

Chhakaḍi (Chattopādhyāya)

Chhakaḍi was a Brāhmiṇ, resident of Kuliā, in the district of Burdwan, father of Bansibadan Thākur. Jayānanda wrote in his *Chaitanya Mangal* that Chhakaḍi brought Śrīchaitanya in his house and worshipped him. He was originally of Patuli. He settled at Kuliapaharpur of Nabadwipa at the instance of Mahāprabhu[24].

Chidānanda Bhārati

Śrījīva Goswāmī and Debakinandan in *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* referred to his name as Chidānanda but Brindāban Dās II mentioned him as Sachidānanda.

Damayantī (Debī)

Damayantī was Brāhmiṇ by caste, resident of Pānihāti, sister of Rāghaba Paṇḍit. She was a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya. During previous līlā she was named as Gunamālā[25].

Dāmodar Dās

Dāmodar Dās was disciple of Nityānanda. It is said that he might be brother of Suryadās Sarkhel.[26]

Dāmodar Purī

Dāmodar Purī was included in three *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* by Śrī Jīva Goswāmī, Debakinandan and Brindāban Dās II. It is found in these books that he was compared with Satyabhāmā. In *Gourganoddesadīpikā* he was called Jagadānanda Satyabhāmā. He was a great devotee and companion of Śrīchaitanya.

Debānanda Paṇḍit

In the *Chaitanyacharitāmrīta* we can find his name is included in the list of disciples of Śrīchaitanya and Nityānanda. He was a Brāhmiṇ, resident of Kuliā, Nabadwipa. He used to read *Bhāgabata*. His name is seen in other important books.

Debānanda

Debānanda was Baidya by caste. He belonged to Gityānanda group. According to *Śrīchaitanya Bhāgavata* of Brindāban Dās he was pure and perfect. It is believed that there are two Debānandas only because Brindāban Dās mentioned in two different places.

Dhrubānanda Brahmachārī

Dhrubānanda Brahmachāri was Brāhmiṇ and belonged to Gadādhar group of followers. In the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* he was compared as Lalitā. He established Jagannāth at Māhesh. Descendants of his family living at Mahata, Chanak and Mankar. In all places the idol of Gobinda was worshipped.

Durlabha Biśwās

Durlabha Biśwās was found in the list of disciples of Adwaita given by Krishnadās Kavirāj in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[27]. He was mentioned along with other devotees like Nandini, Kāmadeva, Chaitanyadās and Banamāli Dās.

Gadādhar Bhatta

Gadādhar Bhatta, was a disciple of Raghunāth Bhatta Goswāmī and was a Hindi Poet. It is said that he lived at Brindāban at the instance of Śrī Jīva. He was the author of Mohinibani. In *Bhaktamāl* we have all references to his works.

Gadādhar Dās or Dās Gadādhar

Gadādhar Dās is included in the list of followers of Chaitanya and Nityānanda. His native place was Ariadaha. Some scholars say that he was a Brāhmiṇ and others say that he was a Kāyastha. In the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījiva Goswāmī, Debakinandan and Brindāban Dās II, Gadādhar Dās was personified as Śrīkrishna who dwells at Brindāban. He was living at first at Puri but afterwards when Nityānanda went for preaching bhakti at Gour he took Gadādhar and Rāmdās with him. He was strong bhakta. The Kāzi of his village was influenced by him and took *Harināma*[28].

Gadādhar Paṇḍit

Gadādhar Paṇḍit was the son of Mādhaba Miśra, a Brāhmiṇ. According to Jaikrishna, his native place was Syllet, but as per the record of *Premabilās*, Chittagang. Later on his father settled at Nabadwipa. Śrī Jīva Gosmāmī says that he was very fond of all bhaktas. He was compared to Chaitanya II "dwitiya Chaitanya avatār". Almost all authors considered him as a great pandit and profound devotee. Kavikarnapur in his *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* depicted him as Rādhā and Lalitā. Gadādhar was constant companion of the master. He was bachelor. His guru was Pundarika. When Śrī Chaitanya came Nilāchala after *Sanyāsa* he came with the Master. He always read Bhāgavata before Śrīchaitanya. He died at Puri after 11 months of the death of Śrīchaitanya[29].

Gangā

Gangā was the wife of Bāneswar Brahmachārī, mother of Pundarika Vidyānidhi.

Gangā

Gangā, wife of Mādhava Chattopādhyāya was the daughter of Nityānanda Brāhmiṇ, living at Jirāt district, Hooghly. Śrī Jīva Goswāmī was described her also as the daughter of Nityānanda. Debakinandan has mentioned her name along with her husband Mādhavāchārya but Krishnadās Kavirāj did not say anything regarding Gangā though he wrote Birabhadra. Her son was Gopiballava.

Gangādās

Gangādās was Brāhmiṇ by caste living at Anadi. Debakinandan, Śrī Jīva Goswāmī and Brindābandās II described him as a paṇḍit. Gangādās, follower of Nityānanda and son of Chaturbhuja Paṇḍit. They were 3 brothers. There were two disciples of Rasikānanda in the name of Gangādās.[30]

Gangādās

Gangādās was included in the list of followers of Nityānanda given by Krishnadās Kavirāj in his *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*. He was the brother of Nandan Āchārya, Brāhmiṇ of Nabadwipa. Brindāban Dās in Chaitanyabhāgavata described that Chaitanya very often went to house of Gangādās and Murāri. He was present in the *sankīrtan* party of Viśwambhar.

Gangādās Paṇḍit

Gangādās Paṇḍit, a Brāhmiṇ, first teacher of Śrīchaitanya, grammarian of Nabadwipa. He had a Sanskrit School in his house. The school of Gangādās was famous for his teaching. According to Jayānanda, Gangādās was famous for his knowledge in Logic, Literature, Smriti. Almost all scholar referred to his name in their books. He was very favourite and respectful to S´rīchaitanya.[31]

Gangāmantrī

According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* the surname of Gangāmantrī was Māmuṭhākur but Jadunāth differentiated Gangāmantrī from Māmuṭhākur. In some manuscripts Gangāmudri was written in place of Gangāmantrī. He belonged to Gadādhar group of disciple. Scholars are of the opinion that the was an inhabitant of Orissa.[32]

Garuḍa

We have no information except the reference found in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*[33] in which he was identified as Kumuda. He was born in Gouḍa. He was companion of Śrīchaitanya.

Garuḍa Abadhut

No information is found regarding his ancestry. Kavikarnapur was kind enough to indicate about him in his book *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*.[34] His love for Chaitanya was peculiar as substantiated from Debakinandan and S´rī Jīva Goswāmī. Jayānanda also referred to his name.

Garuḍa Paṇḍit

He was living in the village Akana, Nabadwip. His name is found in the list of Chaitanya's followers. He was a disciple of Śrīchaitanya. In his previous līlā he was named as Garuḍa. He digested the venom of Snake by virtue of *Harināma.*

Gobinda Dutta

Gobinda Dutta was a *Kīrtaniya* of the Master. He was known as Pundarikashka in the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā.* According to *Vaiṣṇavachardarpan* his native place was at Sukhchar in the district of 24 Paraganas. It is said that he was the brother of Mukunda and Bāsudeva Dutta. In *Chaitanyabhāgavata* and in *Chaitanya-mangal* his name was included. He was a padakarta. He belonged to Śrīchaitanya group.[35]

Gobinda Dwija

Gobinda Dwija was also known as Sugrib Miśra. Śrī Jīva Goswāmī has described him as Sugriba Miśra and a famous devotee. Debakinandan and Brindābandās II said that he was a resident of Kuliā.

Gobinda Purī

In the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Karnapur Gobindānanda was named as Siddhi. Other information is not available elsewhere. He was companion of S'rīchaitanya and *Sanyāsi.*

Gokuldās

According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[36] Gokuldās was found place in the list of followers of Nityānanda. It is said that he lived at Ghorāghāt.

Gopāl

Gopāl also belonged to Nityānanda group.[37] No other information is available.

Gopāl Āchārya

In the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[38] Gopāl Āchārya was included in the list of followers of Chaitanya. No other books say about him.

Gopāl Dās

Gopāl Dās is also found among the other names in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita.*[39] He belonged to S'rīchaitanya Group.

Gopāl Dās

Gopāl Dās belonged to Gadādhar School of followers according to Jadunāth. It is also supported in *Bhaktiratnākar.*

Gopāl (*Miśra*)

If we see the list of followers of Adwaita in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* we can find the name of Gopāla there. Gopāl was the 3rd son of Adwaita. He was a Brāhmiṇ, living at Shantipur. It is stated in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[40] that once in front of Gundichā temple while engaged in *kīrtan* he fainted and became unconscious. Adwaita took him in his lap and tried his best to make him conscious but failed. Adwaita cried. S´rīchaitanya then by touching Gopāl's heart chanted '*Hari*'. Gopāl hearing master's word got up. Everyone chanted *Hare Rāma* in enjoyment.

Gopāl Nartak

Gopāl Nartak belonged to Nityānanda group of disciples according to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*.

Gopāl Purī

Except Jayānanda's *Chaitanyamaṅgal* his reference is not available in *Sankīrtan*. In last stage he lived at Puri. He was a great devotee of the Master. In Puri he was the first person who believed S´rīchaitanya as incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. He used to solve the dwelling problem of the pilgrims coming from Nadia.

Gopīnāth Singha

Gopināth Singha was a direct devotee of S´rīchaitanya as described in the *S´rīchaitanyacharitāmrita*. He was known also as Akrura as sometimes the Master called him in joke.

Gunanidhi

Except in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*[42], identity of Gunanidhi is available elsewhere. He was called Mukundanidhi in that book.

Haddipa Paṇḍit

Haddipa Paṇḍit, better known as Hāḍāi Paṇḍit, was the father of Nityānanda, Brāhmiṇ, resident of Ekchaka. In the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* and *Vaisṇavabandanā* of Debakinandan he was named Mukunda. It is said that he was commonly known as Hāḍāi Paṇḍit but his real name was Mukunda Ojhā.

Halāyudha Paṇḍit

Jaykrishna said that the native village of Halāyudha was Ramchandrapur (Nabadwipa). Jayakrishna also said that he was favourite to Nityānanda and resident of Ramachandrapur.

Hari Āchārya

According to Jadunāth he belonged to Godādhar group of disciple. In the *Gouraganoddesapīpikā*[43] he was named as Kalākshe.

Haribhatta

In the *Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita*[44] Haribhatta was included along with Gouḍiya Bhaktas. Originally he was a Brāhmiṇ of South. *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrī Jība and Debakinandan also referred to his name. He was the resident of Gouḍa and bhakta of Śrīchaitanya.

Haridās (*Baḍa*)

We have no separate information. Both Haridās (junior and senior) have had been mentioned in one place and in some action. He was resident of Budhan village in Khulna district and known as Haridās Ṭhākur. He came to Nabadwipa and afterwards to Nīlāchala.[45]

Haridās (*Chhota*)

There were two Haridās. They were named as Baḍa (elder) and Chhota (junior). Both of them were constant companion of the Master and were engaged in *Kīrtan*. In the Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita[46] we have seen they stayed for all time by the side of the Master.

Haridās Brahmachārī

Haridās Brahmachārī was initiated by Adwaita and belonged to his group of disciples.

Haridās Brahmachārī

There was another Haridās Brahmachārī who, according to Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita[47] and Jadunāth Dās belonged to Gadādhar group of disciples.

Hariharānanda

According to Krishnadās Kavirāj, Hariharānanda belonged to Nityānanda group of disciple. He was a great devotee and knew nothing except Nityānanda and Śrīchaitanya. Śrījība, Debakinandan and Brindābandās II also described him as great devotee of Śrīchaitanya.

Hari Nandi

Jayānanda in his Chaitanya Mangal described Hari Nandi as a contemporary companion of Śrīchaitanya. Other biographies like Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita of Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmī and Śrīchaitanya Bhāgavata of Brindābandās do not provide any information regarding him. It does not indicate that he was less important.

Hastigopāl

According to Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita of Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmī[48] and Jadunāth, Hastigopāl was disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. We have seen in the Gouraganoddesadīpikā of Kavikarnapur[49] that he was called as Harini. However Hastigopāl although disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit yet his regard for Śrīchaitanya was in no way less than other followers of that time.

Haridās Laghu

Haridās Laghu was a companion of Śrīrūpa in visiting Gopāla. It is not sure whether he met Śrīchaitanya. According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Haridās Laghu accompanied Rūpa Goswāmī along with other devotees like Gopāladas, Nārāyaṇ Dās, Gobinda, Pundarikaksha, Īśān and others.

Hiranyak

Hiranyak was direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He was the brother of Jagadish, a friend of Jagannāth Miśra. He was a Brāhmiṇ and residing at Nabadwipa.

Hridayānanda

Hridayānanda was the son of brother of Gadādhar Paṇḍit, disciple of Gouradās Paṇḍit. Jadunāth Dās stated that he belonged to Gadādhar group of disciple.[50] He was the initiator (dikshaguru) of Śyāmānanda.

Īśāna

Īśāna was a servant in the house of Biśwambhar Miśra. Śachīdevī mother of Biśwambhar Miśra loved him very much. Śachīdevī brought him up with great affection of Mother. *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* of Śrījīva, Debakinandan and Brindābandās II described the affection of Śachīdevī towards Īśāna. Krishnadās Kavirāj also supported this fact. He was a constant companion of the Master during his boyhood. Īśāna walked by taking the Master in his lap.

Jadu Gānguli

According to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* and Jadunāth, Jadu Ganguli was disciple of Gadādhar. Jadunāth also stated him as Jadunandan Chakrabarty. We can seen in *Bhaktiratnākar* a line composed by Jadunāth.

Jadunandan Āchārya

Jadunandan Āchārya was disciple of Adwaita and preceptor of Raghunāthdās Goswāmī.

Jadunāth

Jadunāth was resident of Kulingrām. We have seen 16 slokas are collected in *Padakalpataru* in the name of Jadunāth. But Satish Chandra Roy and Jagadbandhu

Bhadra has taken the *Padakarta* Jadu, Jadunāth and Jadunandan as the translator of Gobindalilāmrta. Scholars like Dr. B. B. Majumdar thought them as different persons. Except *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* his reference is not available elsewhere.

Jagadānanda

Jagadānanda was a Brāhmiṇ residing at Kānchanpalli. He was named as Satyabhāmā in the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur. He belonged to Śrīchaitanya's group of disciple. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* he was personified as Saraswatī whom Śrīchaitanya loved very much. It is said that poem No. 271 of *Padyāvali* was composed by him. The episode of Chandanoil from Sibānanda Sen brought by Jagadānanda for the Master, and Master's anger upon Jagadānanda. Afterwards Master came to his place and advised to cook as he would take meal there. He was very bosom follower and companion of *Kīrtan.* He served the Master at Puri. He was also known as Jagadānanda Paṇḍit.

Jagadish

Jagadish was Brāhmiṇ and son of Adwaita. According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Jagadish was a Brāhmiṇ and friend of Jagannāth Miśra, father of Śrīchaitanya. He was living at Nabadwipa. Śrīchaitanya once took meal in his house. Jayānanda, in his *Chaitanyamaṅgal* said that Jagadish had two brothers, himself and Hiranya were very favourite to Nityānanda. His name was found in all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and biographies.

Jagadish Paṇḍit

Jagadish Paṇḍit was the disciple of Śrīchaitanya and resident of Nabadwipa, The name of his father was Hiranya Paṇḍit. Jagadish Paṇḍit was an expert in dancing. He was a Brāhmiṇ. It is described in the *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata* that Nimāi had taken prasada in the house of Jagadish who was very close to Jagannāth Miśra. According to *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* there was another Jagadish Paṇḍit who was disciple of Nityānanda. He was a resident of Jaśoda, near Chākdaha in the district of Nadia.

Jagannāth

He was Brāhmiṇ and iucluded in the group of disciples of Nityānanda. He was the son of Kansāri Miśra and uncle of Jāhnabī Debī wife of Nityānanda another brother of Dāmadar.[51]

Jagannāth Dās Kāsṭhakātā

Jagannāth Dās Kāsṭhakātā, according to Krishnadās Kavirāj and Jadunandan, belonged to Gadādhar group of disciples. No other sources are available for his whereabouts. In his previous birth he was known as Tilakini Sakhi. He was resident of Kāstakātā of Bikrampur. The Master favoured him and he became a great religious leader of the time. He took shelter to Gadādhar at the instance of the Master. He preached the *Nāma* in Tripura.

Jagannāth Dwija Chakravarty

Jagannāth Dwija was also known as Māmā Ṭhākur. He was called Kalabhasini in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* (196, 205 sloka). It is said that he was worshipper of Totā Gopīnāth.[52]

Jagannāth Kar

Jagannāth Kar was a Kāyastha and disciple of Adwaita. His name is found in *Nāmāmrita*.[53]

Jagannāth Paṇḍit

Jagannāth Paṇḍit was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He was Brāhmiṇ and called Durbāsā in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*. He was also mentioned in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*.

Jagannāth Tīrtha

Jagannāth Tīrtha, according to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāja was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya. In the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur he was known as Jayanteya. Śrījīva Goswāmī and Debakinandan in their *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* have mentioned his name.

Jagāi

The real name of Jagāi was Jagannāth Rāy, son and grandson of Raghunāth and Subhānanda Rāy. His uncle was Janārdan Rāy and his brother Mādhāi. The two brothers were *kotāl* of Nabadwipa. They were most dishonest and living luxurious life. Nityānanda went to them for preaching *Harināma* but Mādhāi hurt him by a part of earthen jar. Yet Nityānanda did not stop or punished him. Since then he became a great bhakta of the Master. Jagai was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He was Brāhmiṇ and living at Nabadwipa. In the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* he was described along with other followers for their work.

Jagāi Lekhak

Except Jayānanda no other biographers of Śrīchaitanya mentioned his name.

Jagannāth Miśra (*Purandar*)

He was the father of Śrīchaitanya alias Nimāi. He was Brāhmiṇ and inhabitant of Syllet. Later on settled at Nabadwipa. In all biographies of

Śrīchaitanya we have found references to Jagannāth Miśra. *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva, Debakinandana and Brindābandās II have referred to him.

Jagannāth Sen

Jagannāth Sen was Baidya by caste and follower of Śrīchaitanya. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*[54] he was named as Kamala. Dr. De says that poems Nos. 64 and 365 were composed by him.

Janārdan Dāsh

Janārdan Dāsh was the disciple of Adwaita.[55] No other information is available.

Jādavāchārya

Jādavāchārya Gosāñi was his real name and also known in this name. In *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of KKG we can find that he was friend of Śrīrūpa Goswāmī. Jadunāth says that he was Gadādhar's group. Today many devotees of Nabadwipa identify themselves as the heir of Jādavāchārya. Others also say that he was brother of Viṣṇupriyā.

Jāhnabī

Jāhnabī was the daughter of Suryadās Sarkhel, wife of Nityānanda, mother of Birabhadra. Brindāban Dās II said that she was also known as Bāruni. She has been referred to in all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*. In previous *līlā* she was Rebati and Anangamanjari. There was another Jāhnabī Debī who was mother of Kashināth Paṇḍit of Chatra. She went to Puri and brought back Kashināth from Puri.

Jangali or Jangalipriyā Dāsī

Jangali was disciple of Sītādevī. According to B. Hamilton he was Brāhmiṇ, living near Gouḍa but *Adwaitamangal* described that though male he acted as woman. Jangali was not found in any biographical works because he worshipped God as Lolita of Nabadwipa. N. N. Basu says that previous name of Jangali was Rāj Kumār or Jajñeswar Chakravarty who take mantra from Sītā Debī afterwards known as Jangalipriyā. Once she was meditating in the deep forest where the Bādasāha of Gouḍa came for hunting and pleased to see her beauty. The king tried to hold her but surprised to see that he was a man.

Jānakīnāth

Jānakīnāth was the direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He was Brāhmiṇ. We can see in *Bhaktiratnākar* that Jānakīnāth was personified as all attributes.

Jhaḍu Ṭhākur

Jhaḍu Ṭhākur was Bhuimāli by caste. In the *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita* we have seen that one Kālidās, uncle of Raghunāth Dās Goswāmī, a great Vaiṣṇava wanted to eat in his house. But Jhaḍu Ṭhākur declined to follow his prayer. Jhaḍu said that he would arrange his meal in any Brāhmiṇ's house. But after he became mad in love taking remaining food of Jhaḍu. There is no reference of meeting of Jhaḍu with Śrīchaitanya.

Jitā Mitra

According to *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāja and Jadunāth he was a disciple of Gadādhar group. Kavikarnapur referred to him as Shyāmamanjari. He conquered 6 ripus. So the Master called him Jitāmitra.

Jñānadas

We have no additional information except the fact illustrated in the *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita*[56] in which Jñānadas was identified as the follower of Nityānanda group. His name was mentioned along with Śaṅkar, Mukunda and Monohar.

Kabichandra

Kabichandra was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya. There were a few bhaktas like Jadunāth, Banamālī, Mukunda, Indriyananda and Sasthibara had the surname of Kabichandra, but it seems that Kabichandra was an individual as Śrījīva praised him. In the *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita* we have also seen the reference of Kavichandra.[57] He was referred to as Manohara in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapura.

Kabidatta

Although he belonged to Gadādhar group of disciple yet in the *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita* of Gouḍiyamatha edition, he was found in the group of Śrīchaitanya we have seen one Kavidatta. In other edition there is no reference to his name. He was a resident of Kuliā, Pāhārpur. In the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*[58] he was named as Kalakanthi.

Kabirāja Miśra Bhāgavatāchārya

The name of Kavirāja Miśra Bhāgavatāchārya was only found in the *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* of Śrījīva Goswāmī, Debakinandana and Brindābandās II.

Kamala—Disciple of S'rīchaitanya

Kamala of *S'rīchaitanyaganoddesadīpikā* and Kamalnayan of *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita* might be the name of one person. Scholars are of the opinion that

Kamalnayan might be two persons in the name of Kamal and the other Nayan. Kamala was a disciple of Śrīchaitanya.

Kamalābati

Kamalābati was the grandmother of Śrīchaitanya, who was resident of Syllet. No other information is available regarding her. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* she was known as grandmother of Krishna-Bariyasī.

Kamalākar Pippalāyī—Disciple of Nityānanda

According to *Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita,* Kamalākar Pippalāyī was a Brāhmiṇ, born at Akana Māhesh, two miles south of Srirampur, in the district of Hooghly. He was staying at Jageswar. We have seen in the Kalna edition of *Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita* that Śrīchaitanya gave him the title Pippālaī. He poured dust of Pippali (one kind of medicinal plant) in his own eyes and made him to weep. From that date he was known as Pippalāi.

It is said that he was given the charge of worshipping of Jagannāth at Māhesh. The Car-Festival of Jagannāth at Māhesh is well known as Ratha of Māhesh.

Kamalākar Dās

Kamalākar Dās was the father of Lochan Dās, Baidya by caste. The name of Kamalākar Dās is found only in the *Vaiṣṇavabandanā*[59] of Brindābandās II.

Kamalākānta

According to *Śrīchaitanya Charitāmrita* Kamalākānta was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He was a resident of Nabadwipa. In the *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata*[60] we find his name is mentioned along with Murārī Gupta and Krishnānanda. No other information is available anywhere.

Kamalākānta Biśwās

According to *Śrīchaiianya Charitāmrita*[61] Kamalākānta Biśwās was a servant of Adwaita. He was an accountant in the house of Adwaita Prabhu. It is described that he wrote a letter to King Pratāparudra stating that Adwaita was God. He had also stated that he (Adwaita) was in need of three hundred rupees. But the letter came to the hand of Śrīchaitanya as such the master displeased with him and advised Kamalā not to come to him. The matter ended with the interference of Adwaita Prabhu.

Kamalākānta Paṇḍit

Except *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata*[62] his name not found in other biographies. He was an inhabitant of Saptagram and Brāhmiṇ by caste. He was follower of Nityānanda.

Kamalānanda

Kamalānanda was servant of Śrīchaitanya. He was residing at Nabadwipa. We can see in Mahākāvya and Nātaka of Kavikarnapur that one Kamalānanda came to Nabadwipa to enquire about Śachī Devī, mother of Śrīchaitanya. He had a branch at Gouḍa. He lived at Puri with the Master.[63]

Kansāri Sen

It is said in the *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita* that Kansāri Sen was disciple of Nityānanda. He was residing at Kanchisali, otherwise known as Guptipara and Vaidya by caste. Amulya Bhatta said in his "Vaiṣṇava-abhidhān" that Sadāśiva Kavirāj was his son but there was no authentic proof. His name is found in all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*.

Kālidās

Kālidās was kāyastha, a resident of Saptagrām. According to *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāj that Kālidās was the cousin uncle of Raghunāth Goswāmī, ate the mango seed which was eaten before by Jhaḍu Ṭhākur, a bhuimali by caste. Kavikarnapur called him pulindaknaya malli. He always sang *Harerāma* —also used to play chess in the name of Hari. He had no caste barriers. He used to take remains of meal of any Vaiṣṇava. He was a great *bhakta* of the Master.

Kālināth Brahmachārī

According to Jadunāth he was a disciple of Gadādhar.

Kānu Paṇḍit

Kānu Paṇḍit was a disciple of Adwaita group as described in the *S'rīchaitanya Charitāmrita*. He was a Brāhmiṇ, resident of Santipur. He attended the katwa and kheturi festival.[64]

Kāshināth Dwija (Paṇḍit)

Kāshināth Dwija was a resident of Nabadwipa, a negotiator of the marriage of Vaiṣṇupriyā and Biśwambhar.[65] Kavikarnapur named him as Kulaka. Almost of all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* have mentioned his name.

Kāshīpurāyanya

According to Jayānanda Kāshīpurāyanya was present at the time when Śrīchaitanya was taken the vow of an ascetic. No other information is found elsewhere.

Kāshīnāth Rudra

Kāshīnāth Rudra, a Brāhmiṇ, was living at Chatra, near Srirampur. He was worshipper of Mahāprabhu established at Chatra. Some scholars say that Kāshīnāth and Rudra were two persons but no authentic source is discovered yet.

Kāshīśwara

Kāshīnāth Dwija was also known as Kāshīśwara in some places. Kavikarnapur has given him name Bhringār. According to *Gourganoddesadīpikā* he was a servant of Śrīchaitanya during his early life. It is said that he was a pilgrim along with others who came from Gouḍa to Puri. Almost all the books have referred to his name. Hẹ was born at Brāhmandāngā in the district of Jessore. He was favourite of Gourānga from boyhood. He learnt religious teaching side by side.

Kāshīśwar Goswāmī

Krishnadās Kavirāj said that he was disciple of Śrīchaitanya. Kavikarnapur had given his name Śashirekhā. Scholars say that he was disciple of Īśwar Purī. According to Jayakrishna he was born in the south, residing at Brindāban. He established Gourgobinda idol. All the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* referred his name. Sanātan Goswāmī in the preface of *Vaīṣṇavatosini* mentioned his name. His name is also found in the preface of *Haribhaktibilāsa*, and in *Bhaktiratnākar*. He was advised to serve the Master at Puri by Īśwar Purī. Kāshīśwar used to take the master for visiting Jagannātha.

Kashiswar Misra

Kashiswar Misra, a resident of Phulia, was a Brahmin. Debakinandan referred to his name.

Keshava Bhāratī

Keshava Bhāratī, Barendra Brāhmiṇ, was born at Denura in the district of Burdwan. It is said that he was a disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. Kavikarnapur gave him name Sandipani. In all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and biographies he was referred to, Kavikarnapur in his Mahākavya and nātaka had given his reference. His Śrīpāta was in Kulia. His previous name was Jadunāth Āchārya, Guru of Śrīchaitanya. *S'rī Chaitanyacharitāmrita* described all his activities in details.

Keshava Chhatri Khān

Keshava Chhatri Khān was a kāyastha living at Gour. Once Śrīchaitanya lead a Kirtan party with a large number of followers at Rāmakeli. The muslim Bādasāha was curious about Śrīchaitanya and asked Keshava Chhatri. But Keshava Chhatri did not give any reliance on the news. He appraised the king and informed Śrīchaitanya to proceed further. It indicates that he had an intense regard for Śrīchaitanya. According to *Bhaktiratnākar* he met the Master at Rāmakeli. We can find stanza (sloka) No. 153 in Padyāvali. We can see his reference in *Śrīchaitanya Chandrodayanātaka* of Kavikarnapur.

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Keshava Purī

It is said that Keshava Purī was a disciple of Mādhavendra, but Kavikarnapur stated him as Ishitwa-siddhi. In all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* his name was mentioned. He was one of the 9 famous ascetic related with Mādhavendra Purī.

Kramaka Purī

There is no reference to his identity except in the *Chaitanya Maṅgal* of Jayānanda.

Krishnadās

Krishnadās was a Brāhmiṇ, a resident of Ākāihāt, two miles away from Katwa. Scholars did not have an uniform view regarding his lineage. In the *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavat* we have seen he was a disciple of Nityānanda, but Rāmgopāl Dās in his *Śakhābarnan* described him as a devotee of Raghunandan. Regarding his native place all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* state that his native place was Ākāihāt.

Krishnadās

He was also known as Kāliā or Kālo Krishnadās. Jaykrishna says that he was born at Māmadābād. In all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* he was called as Kāliā and Kālo. Kavikarnapur personified him as Labanga.

Krishnadās

Krishnadās was a Brāhmiṇ, living at Baragachhi, Bihar. He was a disciple of Nityānanda. His name is referred to in all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*. Brindābandās II described that he was mad at the separation of Nityānanda and became cure after Nityānanda returned.

Krishnadās

Krishnadās was a Brāhmiṇ by caste residing at Phuliā. He was the brother of Debānanda Paṇḍit. His name is found in the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva Goswāmī, Debakinandan and Brindābandās II. He perhaps came with Nityānanda from Puri to Gouḍa.

Krishnadās

Kavikarnapur has called him as Ratnarekhā in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*. He was Vaidya by caste. He was included in the group of Śrīchaitanya.

Krishnadās

According to Krishnadās Kavirāja and Kavikarnapur, Krishnadās was a companion of Śrīchaitanya in the journey of Deccan. He belonged to group of Śrīchaitanya

Krishnadās

Krishnadās was second son of Adwaita, Brāhmiṇ, resident of Santipur. Kavikarnapur had given him name of Kārtikeya.

Krishnadās

Krishnadās was living at Brindāban. Kavikarnapur had named him as Indulekhā in his book *Gouraganoddesadīpikā.* He belonged to Gadādhar and Śrīchaitanya group of disciples. According to *Bhaktiratnākar* (page 1021) he was a devotee and worshipper of Śrī Madanagopāl. He was a favourite of Kāshiśwar Goswāmī.

Krishnadās

His name was only included in the Adwaita group of disciple.

Krishnadās Gunjamālī

Krishnadās Gunjamālī born at Lahore. At the age of 7 he left native place and came Brindāban and saw Gopāla there. He was one of the disciples of Mādhavendra Purī. Some time after he met Śrīchaitanya. He went to Multān at the instance of the Master and preached Vaiṣṇavism. He made his nephew Banayarichandra an ascetic and had gone to preach religion at Gujurat. Many people accepted Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava. It is said the Master offered him own Gunjamālā as such he was called Gunjamālī. He also converted many muslim people to Vaiṣṇavism in the Sind. He lived later life at Brindāban.

Krishnadās Hoḍe—son of Hari Hoḍe

Krishnadās Hoḍe was a Brāhmiṇ living at Baragachhi. According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* he was present at the festival of fry rice organised by Raghunāth. He was follower of Nityānanda.

Krishnadās Rājput

Though Krishnadās Rājput is not included in the list of followers of Chaitanya but in the Madhya Līlā we have seen that he was a Rājput, Vaiṣṇava and living on the bank of Yamuna. According to this description Krishnadās was surprised to see the Master at Amalitala. Seeing him, he prostrated before the Master. The master asked him his identity. He said that he was Rājput and he desired to be a Vaiṣṇava. The Master embraced him by chanting the name Hari, Hari.

Krishnānanda

Krishnānanda was Brāhmiṇ included in the list of disciples of Nityānanda. He was a Brāhmiṇ of Nabadwipa. Brindāban Dās in his "*Chaitanyabhāgavata*" referred him to as the son of Ratnagarbha Āchārya and brother of Jadunāth Kabichandra.

Krishnānanda Purī

Krishnānanda Purī, an ascetic, was disciple of Śrīchaitanya. Kavikarnapur called him Mahimā Siddhi. Śrījīva Goswāmī and Debakinandan have mentioned him in their books.

Kumudānanda Paṇḍit

Kumudānanda Paṇḍit was a Brāhmiṇ living at Chittagong, later on at Dainhat in the district of Burdwan. Jadunāth says that he belonged to group of Gadādhar. It is said that he established the idol of Rasikarāja at Dainhat which is being worshipped till now. In the previous līlā he was known as Gandharba Gopa.

Kurma

The native place of Kurma is not mentioned in any book. Only *Śrīchaitanya-charitāmrita* describes that he was favoured by Śrīchaitanya during his journey in the south. He was originally inhabitant of Deccan. He had a place at Kurma temple. He was Baidik Brāhmiṇ invited the Master in his house, washes his feet and eaten those water along with all his family members. The master later on advised him to initiate all people in *Krishnamantra*.

Lakshman Āchārya

We have seen the name of Lakshman Āchārya in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva Goswāmī and Debakinandan. Other books are silent about him. He was a *bhakta* of Śrīchaitanya.

Lakshmīnāth Paṇḍit

According to Krishnadās Kavirāj and Jadunāth, Lakshmīnāth Paṇḍit was disciple of Gadādhara. Kavikarnapur called him as Rasonmāda in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*.

Lakshmīpriyā

Lākshmīpriyā was first wife of Biśwambhar Miśra. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and in all biographies her name was referred to.

Lokanāth

According to Jadunāth, Lokanāth was known as Lokanāth Bhatta belonged to the group of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. No other information is available.

Lokanāth Paṇḍit

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Lokanāth was disciple of Adwaita. But in *Bhakti-Ratnākar* it is found that he was son of Padmanābha Chakraverty of

Talkhera (Jessore). He was Brāhmiṇ. At the instance of Adwaita he wrote a commentary on Bhāgavata, Canto-X.[66] He was the son of the youngest maternal uncle of Śrīchaitanya, Śrī Ratnagarva Āchārya. Loknāth Paṇḍit was initiated by Biśwarupa (elder brother of Śrīchaitanya ascetic name Śrī Śankararanya) and travelled with him.

Madhu Paṇḍit

According to Jadunāth, Madhu Paṇḍit belonged to Gadādhar group of disciple. He was a resident of Tamluk later on went to Brindāban and settled there. He was the first priest of Gopīnāth at Brindāban. *Bhaktiratnākar* also supports this fact. He was the first worshipper of Gopīnāth idol discovered by Paramānanda Goswāmī near Bansibata of Brindāban. He placed idol of Rādhā by the left of Gopīnāth.

Madhusudan

Madhusudan, according to Kalana edition of *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*, we can see that surname 'Kar' is used before his name. But in *Śākhābarnan* of Rāmagopāl Dās we find that he was called as 'Dāsa Vaidya'. From it, it can be inferred that he was vaidya. Madhusudan was the disciple of Śrīchaitanya.[67]

Mahendra Giri

Mahendra Giri was mentioned in *Chaitanyamaṅgala* of Jayānanda as the follower of Śrīchaitanya. No other information is available about him.

Mahesh Paṇḍit

Mahesh Paṇḍit was also follower of the group of the Chaitanya and Nityānanda. Scholars say that perhaps he was living at Syllet, later came and settled at Nadia. At first he lived at Yasora near Sukhasagar, afterwards Palapara near Chakadaha (Nadia). He was Brāhmiṇ and brother of Jagadish Paṇḍit Jasada. Kavikarnapur has called him as Mahābāhu. Jīva Goswāmī has described him as a great devotee of Krishna.

Mahidhar

In the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* Mahidhar was only mentioned in the Nityānanda Śākhā. No other information is found.

Makaradhwaja

No other source is available except *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur in which Makaradhwaja was called Sukesi of Braja.

Makaradhwaja Kar

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Makaradhwaja Kar, Kāyastha by caste, was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya and belonged to group of Rāghava Paṇḍit. Śrī Jiva Goswāmī in his Vaiṣṇava-Bandanā stated that he used to sing *Kīrtan* always near the master. In almost all biographies we can see his name. Kavikarnapur called him Chandramukha. He was Kāyastha by caste.

Manmatha Purī

Only Jayānanda[68] and Brindāban has referred to his name.

Mādhava

Mādhava was mentioned in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* as the follower and included in the Nityānanda group.

Mādhava Āchārya

Mādhava Āchārya was the son-in-law of Nityānanda, husband of Gangādebī. He was the son of Biśweswar Chattopādhyāya. His monther was Mahālakshmī Debī. He was the foster child of Bhāgīrathī Āchārya and Jagadambā Debī. He was a Brāhmiṇ, living at Jirat in the district of Howrah. Kavikarnapur described him as Śāntanu. In the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* he was also described as the husband of Gangādevī, daughter of Nityānanda. His mother died after his birth. So, his father gave the child to Bhagīrath Āchārya and Jayadurgā Debī and became *Sanyāsi*. He was contemporary of Śrīchaitanya.

Mādhava Miśra

Mādhava Miśra was the father of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. In Śrīchaitanyabhāgavat there is a line regarding Mādhava Miśra in the context of Gadādhar's devotion for god. He was son of Bilās Āchārya, a Brāhmiṇ. In previous *līlā* he was known as Brisabhānu. His Śrīpāta was in Beleti village, Chittagang district. He was the disciple of Mādhavendrapurī. Pundarika Bidyānidhi was his friend.

Mādhavendra Purī

Mādhavendra Purī was famous as he was initiator (Diksha Guru) of Śrīchaitanya. In different *Vaisṇavabandanās* he was identified as a great devotee of God Hari. It is also stated that he was the pioneer in finding the devotional path to reach the God. In *S´rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we find that after coming Nadia he came to the house of Jagannāth Miśra and took his meal there with curry. Sometimes he cry, dance, and sometimes lie down in dust for Krishna.

Mādhāi

Mādhāi was a kulin Brāhmiṇ, resident of Nabadwipa, brother of Jagāi. In

Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita he was mentioned in the group of disciple of Śrīchaitanya. Kavikarnapur called him as Bijay in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā.* He belonged to disciple of Śrīchaitanya group.

Māladhar Brahmachārī

In the *Chaitanyamaṅgal* of Jayānanda he was mentioned in the context of Nabadwipalīlā.

Mālinī (Ṭhākurānī)

Mālinī was wife of Śrībās Paṇḍit, a resident of Nabadwipa. She was called Ambikā by Kavikarnapur in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā.*[60] In all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās,* her name is included with great reverance. After the birth of Gourānga, according to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* she along with the wife of Adwaita and other ladies offered various fruits to Śrīchaitanya.

Minaketan Rāmadās

Minaketan Rāmadās belonged to Nityānanda group of disciple and went to the residence of Krishnadās Kavirāja at Jhamathpur. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* he was called Śaṅkarṣan. He was engaged in *Saṅkīrtan* for day and night at the residence of K.K.G. and all Vaiṣṇavas regarded him.

Mukunda

There are three Mukundas mentioned in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita.* According to Krishnadās Kavirāj, one Mukunda was the disciple of Biśwarupa, the elder brother of Śrīchaitanya. Perhaps he might have worshipped Śrīchaitanya afterwards and as such his name was included in the group of disciples of Śrīchaitanya.

The second one belonged to the group of Nityānanda. The third one included in the sub-branch of Śrīchaitanya.

Mukunda

The second Mukunda belongs to Nityānanda group, who according to N. N. Basu was son of Ballava Ghosh. Ballava Ghosh had 9 sons of which first 6 sons became ascetic. Among them Bāsudeva, Gobinda, Mādhava, Mukunda were constant associates of Śrīchaitanya.

Mukunda

The third Mukunda have no other information regarding his identity except a mere inclusion in the list of disciples of Śrīchaitanya.

Mukunda Dutta

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*, Mukunda Dutta was class-mate of Śrīchaitanya and a good *kīrtaniyā*. It is said that he might be the brother of Bāsudeva Dutta. He was Vaidya by caste and settled at Kachanpalli (Nabadwīpa), formerly living at Chittagang. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and in almost all books his name is found. He was called Mạdhukantha of Braja by Kavikarnapur in his *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*.[70]

Mukunda Dās

Mukunda Dạs is found along with other disciples in Chaitanya group. He was Vaidya by caste and living at Śrīkhanda. It is described in all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* that he was puzzled observing the peacock's feather. He was a great devotee of Śrīkrishna. He was originally Brāhmiṇ of Pānchāla.

Mukunda Kavirāja

Mukunda Kavirāja was Vaidya by easte. He was included in the group of Nityānanda. We can find his name in all the *Vaisṇavabandanās.*

Mukunda Modak

Mukunda Modak was the son of Parameśwar Modak an inhabitant of Nabadwipa who was also a devotee of Kṛṣṇa.

Mukunda Rāy

According to Jaykrishna Mukunda Rāy was born at Shāntipur. He was not mentioned in any biographies but in *Vaisṇavabandanās* his name is found. Scholars say that Mukunda Rāy might be any Mukunda of Nityānanda group.

Mukunda Sanjay

Mukunda Sanjay was a Brāhmiṇ, inhabitant of Nabadwipa. He opened a *Tol* (Sanskrit School) in his house. He was mentioned in *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavat* of Brindābandās and *Chaitanyamaṅgal* of Jayānanda. He was the student of Śrīchaitanya and read grammar.[71]

Murārī Chaitanya Dās

Murārī Chaitanyadās was a Brāhmiŋ belonged to Nityānanda group. According to Mrinalakānti Ghosh, Murārī Chaitanyadās was born at Sārang Brindābanpur. When he came to village Jhaugachhi of Nabadwipa, he was known as Sāranga Murārī Chaitanyadās. But Śrī Jīva Goswāmī, Debakinandan and Brindābandās II described Sārangadās as other than Murārī Chaitanya Dās. Krishnadās Kavirāj also described them separately. In *Chaitanyabhāgabat—Antya Līlā*, we can see all his activities in details.

Murārī Paṇḍit

Murārī Paṇḍit was a Brāhmiṇ. According to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* he was a follower belonged to Adwaita Group. No other information is available from any other sources.

Nabani Hoḍe

He is found in the Nityānanda group according to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita.*[72]

Nakaḍi

We can see in the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[73] of Krishnadās Kavirāj that he was mentioned in the Nityānanda group. No other author says about him.

Nakul Brahmachārī

Kavikarnapur in his nātaka has referred to his name. He was a resident of Ambua and a great Vaiṣṇava. It is said that Mahāprabhu sometimes found in the body of Nakul Brahmachārī. Sibānanda Sen, hearing this news, came and examined him and surprised to see.

Nandan Āchārya

Nandan Āchārya was the son of Chaturbhuja Paṇḍit, a Brāhmin, living at Nabadwipa. In *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* he was described along with other followers like Bakreśwar, Murārī, Suklambar who were also present and enjoyed the company of Śrīchaitanya. Adwaita Āchārya hide himself in the house of Nandan Āchārya on the day when Śrīchaitanya absorved in meditation. Nityānanda also stayed at his house.

Nandāi

We do not have any other information except his name in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* and included in the group of disciples of Nityānanda and Śrīchaitanya. Nandāi served Mahāprabhu.

Nandinī

Nandinī, according to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* was included in the group of Adwaita. She was direct disciple of Sītā Debī. She was Kāyastha by caste, resident of Nātore (Bangladesh). Kavikarnapur described her in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* as Jayā.

Nārāyaṇa

This Nārāyaṇa was known as brother of Dāmodar Paṇḍit. In the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*, we have seen his reference to but in biographical works his name is not mentioned.

20

Nārāyaṇ

There are two Nārāyaṇ, one of which was brother of Debānanda, and disciple of Nityānanda. He was Vaidya by caste. In *S´rīchaitanyabhāgavat* of Brindāban Dās and *S´rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* he was mentioned along with other followers.

Nārāyaṇ Dās

In the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāja, we can see that Nārāyaṇ Dās was included in the group of Adwaita; and accompanied Śrī Rūpa for visiting Gopāla, at Brindāban. There is a reference to him in *Bhaktiratnākar* page 589. He lived for sometime at Brindāban. There were three Nārāyaṇ Dās, disciple of Rasikānanda, Jagadānanda and translator of Ujjalanīlamani.

Nārāyaṇ Gupta

Nārāyaṇ Gupta was Vaidya by caste and living at Panihati, 24-Parganas. In *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* he was referred to with other persons like Jayakrishna, Gangādās Vaidya, Buddhimanta Khān.[74] Only Murārī Gupta in his Kaḍacha described him. No other biographical works mentioned him. He was follower of Śrīchaitanya.

Nārāyaṇ Paiḍāri

Nārāyaṇ Paiḍāri was a Brāhmiṇ. We have only seen him in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrī Jīva, Debakinandan and Brindābandās II. He belonged to sub-branch of Gadādhar Paṇḍit.

Nārāyaṇ Vāsaspati or Paṇḍit

Krishnadās Kavirāj said that he was a direct disciple of Śrīchaitanya. Kavikarnapur described him as Souraseni in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā.*[75] Dr. B. B. Majumdar remarked that Nārāyaṇ Pairāri, Nārāyaṇ Paṇḍit and Nārāyaṇ Vāsaspati were one and the same person.

Nārāyaṇī

Nārāyaṇī was sister-in-law of Śrībāsa, Brāhmiṇ. Debakinandan says that the master himself called her Alabati. Jayānanda named him 'dhātrīmātā'.

Nārāyaṇi (Debi)

Nārāyaṇi was daughter of Śrībāsa's brother, mother of Brindābandās. She was Brāhmiṇ. In almost all biographies she was mentioned. She was the daughter of Nalini Paṇḍit. Her husband was Vaikunthadās. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* he was referred to as Kilimbikā.

Nilāmbar Chakraverty

Nīlāmbar Chakraverty was father of Śrīchaitanya's mother, resident of Belpukhuria, Nabadwipa, a Paṇḍit. He wrote the horoscope of Śrīchaitanya. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and in most of the biographies we have found his name.

Nityānanda

According the Śrījīva Goswāmī, Nityānanda was the disciple of Śaṅkarṣan Purī but as per *Bhaktiratnākar* Nityānanda was initiated by Laksmīpati, Guru of Mādhavendra Purī. If it is the fact, Nityānanda seemed to have been Guru's Guru of Śrīchaitanya and they were not contemporaries. He is mentioned in all biographical works. He was the son of Hāḍāi Paṇḍit and Padmābatī, born at Ekchaka, Birbhum in 1395 Saka. He was known as Kubera.

Nṛsimhāchārya

Nṛsimhāchārya was a Brāhmiṇ of Nabadwipa. Kavikarnapur in his *Chaitanya-chandrodayanātaka* has referred to his name.

Nṛsimha Chaitanya Dās

Krishnadās Kavirāja included him in Nityānanda group. According to Subalamangal he was brother of Gourīdās Paṇḍit.

Nṛsimha Chidānanda Tīrtha

We have no information except Kavikarnapur who called him as Jayanteya in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*.

Nṛsimhānanda Bhāratī

His place and date of birth is not known. The description in the *Vaiṣṇava-bandanās* is not uniform. He was mentioned along with Satyānanda Bhārati but by Debakinandana he is stated as Nṛsimha Purī. Brindāban Dās II called him as Nṛsimhānanda Nyāsi. We can found his reference to in nātaka of Kavikarnapura.

Nṛsimha Yati

Only Jayānanda in his *Chaitanyamangal* referred to him.

Nyāyāchārya

According to *Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka* Nyāyāchārya used to come Nīlāchala to see Śrīchaitanya. There is another Nyāyāchārya referred to in Nātaka.

Padmābatī

Padmābatī was the mother of Nityānanda. She was Brāhmiṇ by caste and resident of Ekchaka. In the *S'rīchaitanyabhāgabata* and in *S'rīchaitanyamaṅgal* she was referred to. She was the daughter of Mukund Roy, king of Mondeswar. In previous

Līlā she was known as Sumitrā and Rohini. She offered his only son Nityānanda to a *Sanyāsi* at the advise of her husband, Hāḍāi Paṇḍit.

Paramānanda Abadhuta

According to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Paramānanda Abadhuta was the disciple of Nityānanda. In other biographies he was not mentioned, but in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* he was referred to.

Paramānanda Gupta

We can see his name in the group of Nityānanda given by Krishnadās Kavirāja in *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita.*[76] The author also said that he was a great man and devotee of Śrīkrishna. In *Chaitanyabhāgavata* and in *Chaitanyamaṅgal* he was called also great devotee of Śrīkrishna. Kavikarnapur in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* called him Manjumedhā. Nityānanda once stayed in his house.

Paramānanda Kīrtaniyā

According to Krishnadās Kavirāja, Paramānanda Kīrtaniyā was a great Kīrtaniyā (Kīrtansinger) and friend of Shekhar. He used to sing Kīrtan everyday sweetly and the Master used to heard cordially. It is said that he was also friend of Chandraśekhar Vaidya. In Benaras he used to live and sing Kīrtan along with Tapan Miśra, Chandraśekhar Āchārya. He wanted to accompany with the Master when he came Puri from Kāsī, but the Master advised him to stay there and preach kīrtan.

Paramānanda Modak

Paramānanda Modak was a resident of Nabadwipa. He was Modak by caste. His house was near the house of Śrīchaitanya. During boyhood, Śrīchaitanya used to go to his house. He gave him modak mixed with milk. He had a great affection for Śrīchaitanya. Once Parameśwar came Puri to see him. Parameśwar after giving his identity, prostrated before him. Śrīchaitanya pleased to see him and said him that he had done good as he came.

Paramānanda Paṇḍit

Paramānanda Paṇḍit was a class mate of Śrīchaitanya according to B. B. Majumdār, but Jadunāth said that his name was Paramānanda Bhattāchārya and belonged to Gadādhar group. Śrījīva Goswāmī said in the *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* as Paramānanda Paṇḍit. He was contemporary of Śrīchaitanya.

Paramānanda Puri

It is said that he was a disciple of Mādhavendra. He was mentioned in the group of Chaitanya's disciple. According to Jaykrishna he was born at Truhut, later on residing at Nīlāchala. We can see in the *Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka* that Śrīchaitanya himself was calling him as the disciple of Īśwara Purī. He also regarded as his elder brother. He was called Uddhaba in previous *līlā*.

Paramānanda Upādhyāya

Krishnadās Kavirāja said that Paramānanda Upādhyāya was mentioned in the group of Nityānanda. Except *Chaitanyabhāgavat* and Jayānanda no other biographical works mentioned his name. It is also said that he was a great devotee of Nityānanda.

Parameśwardās Ṭhākur

According to Jayakrishna, Parameśwardās Ṭhākur was born at Khardahapat, but according to Abhiram Taraātpur, in the district of Hooghly. Śrījiva Goswāmī said in his *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* that Parameśwardās listened *Harināma* to Jackals. But Debakinandan stated that he forced jackals to take *Harināma*. However, we have seen that he was living at Khardaha after the death of Nityānanda.[77] In *Padakalpataru* the poem No. 23 seems to be his composition.

Prabodhānanda (Saraswati)

Prabodhānanda was a Brāhmiṇ and a great ascetic. His name is found only in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva Goswāmī and Brindābandās II. He was uncle of Gopālabhatta Goswāmī and a devotee worshipper of Laksmīnārāyaṇ. In the previous birth he was referred to as Tungavidya.

Pradyumna Brahmachārī

Krishnadās Kavirāj has mentioned that Pradyumna Brahmachārī was worshipper of Nṛsimha. Śrīchaitanya called him as Nṛsimhānanda. According to *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat*, Pradyumna used to talk with God Nṛsimha. He belonged to group of disciple of Śrīchaitanya.

Pradyumna Giri

In the Chaitanya Maṅgal[78] of Jayānanda the name of Pradyuma Giri is found.

Pundarika Vidyanidhi

We have seen Pundarika Vidyānidhi is included in the list of bhaktas of Śrīchaitanya given by Krishnadās Kavirāja. It is stated in *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[79] that the Master used to cry taking the name of Pundarika Vidyānidhi. He was the son of Bāneśwar Brahmachārī and Gangā Debī. He was a Brāhmiṇ, living at Chakrasal in the district of Chittagong. In the *Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka* he was referred to. Almost all the biographies mentioned his name as a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya.

Purandar Āchārya

Purandar Āchārya was a direct devotee of Śrīchaitanya. We have seen in *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* that Śrīchaitanya addressed Purandar Āchārya as his father.

He was Brāhmiṇ by caste and living at Nabadwipa. All the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* gave him place. Biographies of Śrīchaitanya also mentioned him as a great associate of Śrīchaitanya.

Purandar Paṇḍit

According to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Purandar Paṇḍit was very favourite of Nityānanda. He was greatest among the all favourities of Nityānanda.

He was living at Khardaha. Kavikarnapur in his *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* called him as Angada. Jayānanda[80] also supported this view. In all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* his name is easily available.

Purusottama

Purusottam was the student of Nimāi Ṭhākur (Śrīchaitanya). Sanjaya was also his another student. Both of them were his best students who read mainly Grammar. He was living at Kulinagram. He belonged to Śrīchaitanya group and constant companion of *Kīrtan.*[81]

Purusottama Āchārya

It is said that previous name of Swarūpa Dāmodar was Purusottama Āchārya. He belonged to disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He took the vow of ascetic life going Varanashi after seeing Śrīchaitanya's change. *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavata* of Brindāban Dās described that Purusottama Āchārya later on known as Swarūpa Dāmodar. Chaitanyānanda was his Guru. After initiation his Guru advised him to read Vedanta and to teach people the teachings of Vedanta. Thereafter he came Nīlāchala taking permission from his Guru and used to pass day and night in taking *Krishnanāma* living alone in a solitary place. It is said that he was another form of Śrīchaitanya. The master did not hear any commentary on *S'āstra* unless Swarūpa examined earlier.

He was Brāhmiṇ and living at Nabadwipa.

Purusottama Brahmachārī

Purusottama Brahmachārī[82] belonged to the group of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu. He was a resident of Kanchisali. His name is only found in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva Goswāmī, Debakinandana and Brindābandās II. No other information is available from any biographical works.

Purusottama Datta

Purusottama Datta as described by Jayānanda in his *Śrīchaitanyamaṅgala*[83] was disciple of Nityānanda who loved him very much.

Purusottama Dās

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Purusottama Dās was the son of Sadaśiva Kavirāja, resident of Sukhasagar, Bodhkhana, in the district of Jessore. He was disciple of Nityānanda and alw ys played with Śrīkrishna. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur we find there was one Purusottama whose father was SadaśIva Kavirāja, but in *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavat* of Brindābandās we have seen that the name of the son of Sadaśiva Kavirāja is Purusottama Dās. So Purusottama and Purusottama Dās may be two persons. He was called stokakṛṣṇa in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*.

Purusottama Paṇḍit

There are two Purusottama Paṇḍitas, one belonged to group of Nityānanda, and the other was disciple of Adwita. We now say about the disciple of Nityānanda. He was a Brāhmiṇ, inhabitant of Nabadwipa. According to Debakinandan, Purusottama was son of Ratnākar and a great devotee of Śrīkrishna and was a scholar. *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavat* described him as a most faithful follower.

Purusottama Paṇḍita

The other Purusottama Paṇḍita was the disciple of Adwaita. According to Jayānanda we have seen that he was deeply associated with Adwita. Debakinandan described him that the master (Śrīchaitanya) considered him as like as Adwaita himself.

Purusottama Purī

Only Debakinandan mentioned him in his *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*. It is said that whom Śrījīva and Brindābandās II said Purusottama Tīrtha, Debakinandan called him as Purusottama Purī. There is no reference to him in other works. He was a great *bhakta* of Śrīchaitanya.

Purusottama Sanjaya

Purusottama Sanjaya was a Brāhmiṇ. He was resident of Nabadwipa, a student of Śrīchaitanya. He was son of Mukunda Sanjaya who was also servant of the master in his previous birth. According to *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavat*, Śrīchaitanya once embraced Purusottama Sanjaya and cried in emotion. But Krishnadās Kavirāj mentioned that Purusottama and Sanjaya are two persons who were students of the master.[84]

Puspagopāl

According to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* and Jadunandan, Puspagopal was disciple of Gadādhar lineage. Despite this information no other is available. He was orignally a resident of Swarnagaon in the district of Dacca.

Raghu Miśra

Raghu Miśra was seen in the group of Gadādhar along with other followers like Śrīharṣa Miśra, Lakshmīnāth Paṇḍit, Śibānanda Chakrabarty, etc. Kavikarnapur called him as Karpuramanjarī.

Raghunandaṇ

There was another Raghunandan who was also disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He was Vaidya by caste and a resident of Śrīkhanda. In all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* we have seen the references to him. He was handsome person. He could act well. He is found in almost all the biographies. He was son of Mukunda Das. He was called Pradyumna in previous birth.

Raghunāth

He was mentioned among the names of bhaktas of Gadādhar.

Raghunāth

Raghunāth was mentioned in the list disciples of Adwaita. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* he was called as Astasiddhi.

Raghunāth Dās

There was another follower in the name of Raghunāth Dās, but he was not mentioned except in the *Vaisṇavabandanās.* He was found in Adwaita Āchārya's list of disciples.

Raghunāth Tīrtha

According to Jayānanda, Raghunāth Tīrtha was a Vaiṣṇava and very kind-hearted. He was known as Raghunāth Purī in his previous birth. Krishnadās Kavirāj also supports that view. In the *Vaiṣṇababandanās* he was known as Raghunāth Tīrtha.

Raghunāth Vaidya Upādhyāya

Raghunāth Vaidya Upādhyāya was Vaidya by caste. According to *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat*, he was a great follower of Nityānanda.

Raghupati Upādhyāya

According the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Raghunāth Upādhyaya met Śrīchaitanya in the house of Ballava Bhatta at Varanasi. The three slokas composed by him that we have seen in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* can be seen in *Padyāvali.* Besides these there are three more slokas written by him included in *Padyāvali.* Scholars view that he was different from Raghunāth Vaidya Upādhyāya. It is also said that he may be another of '*Purusārthakoumudi*'.

Ratnagarbha (Paṇḍit) Āchārya

Ratnagarbha Paṇḍit was a Brāhmiṇ of Nabadwipa. According to *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat,* he was a companion/friend of Jagannāth Miśra, who was born in the same village.[85] He had three sons who were Krishnānanda, Jīva and Jadunāth Kavichandra. He used to read Bhāgavata. Śrīchaitanya at times heard Bhāgavata from him.

Ratnābati

Ratnābati was wife of Mādhaba Miśra and mother of Gadādhar Goswāmī. Kavikarṇapur in his *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* named her as wife of Brisabhānu. She had Śrīpāta at Belati in Chittagong.

There was another woman in the name of Ratnābati seemed to be wife of Pundarika Bidyānidhi, who was a resident of Chakrasahi in the district of Chittagong.

Ratnākar Paṇḍit

We have only informations in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur where he was called as Niddhi. He was a great bhakta of the master.

Rāghava Goswāmī

Rāghava Goswāmī was a Brāhmiṇ of Drābiḍa, later on living at Gobardhana. In the *Vaisṇavabandanās* we have seen references to his homeland but in biographical works he was not mentioned. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* he was known as Champakalatā. He travelled Brindāban along with Śrīnivāsa Āchārya and Narottama.

Rāghaba Paṇḍit

Rāghaba Paṇḍit was a resident of Panihati, Bengal, and a Brāhmiṇ. According to *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat* of Brindāban Dās he was also known as Rāghabananda. In *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* he was mentioned along with other followers like Śrīrama Paṇḍit, Dāmodar Paṇḍit, Śrīman Paṇḍit and Śrīdhara. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* he was named as Dharmisṭhā.

Rāghava Purī

Only in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva Goswāmī and Brindābandās II Rāghava Purī is mentioned. He is described as Siddhi in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur.

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Rājiba Paṇḍit

Rājiba Paṇḍit was a Brāhmiṇ of Nabadwipa. He was only mentioned in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva Goswāmī and Brindābandās II. He was a great devotee of the master.

Rājendra

According to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Rājendra was a follower of Chaitanya and formed a sub-group of followers like Rūpa-Sanātan and Anupam-Jīva.

Rāmachandra Kavirāja

According to Krishnadās Kavirāj, Rāmachandra Kavirāja was a follower of Nityānanda group. He was other than Rāmachandra Kavirāja who was friend of Narottama Ṭhākur. But the Gouḍiya Maṭh edition of *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* described him as the son of Chiranjib Sen.

Rāmachandra Khān

He was a Zamindar of Benapole. We have seen in the *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat* of of Brindābandās that Rāmachandra Khān helped Śrīchaitanya to go to Nīlāchal. After the initiation of Śrīchaitanya when he was coming to Nīlāchal appeared at Chhatrabhoga. Rāmachandra Khān helped the Master to go to Nīlāchal from Chhatrabhog.

Rāmachandra Purī

According to Krishnadās Kavirāja Goswāmī Rāmachandra Purī was neglected disciple of Mādhavendra Purī.[86] In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* his name is found. Debakinandan described him as heir of Śrīrāmachandra. Brindābandās II described him as a greatest person.

Rāmdās

According to description of *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita,* Rāmdās was originally a muslim. The name Rāmdās was given by Śrīchaitanya. He used to wear black dress and a renouned 'pīr' (Guru). He was proud of his knowledge in Śāstra but realising the explanation given by Śrīchaitanya he begged and fell down on the feet of the Master. The master then advised him to recite the name of Krishna. He then said he was now freed from sins of previous births. Śrīchaitanya called him Rāmdās. In other place Krisnhadās Kavirāj described him as servant of Bijuli Khān, a pāthān prince of Gour. People knew him as Pāthāna Vaiṣṇava.

Rāma Dās

There was another Rāma Dās who was also follower of Śrīchaitanya. This Rāma Dās was the son of Śibānanda Sen, Vaidya by caste, and a resident of

Kanchanpalli. Kavikarnapur had named him as Bichakshan Sukapakshi in his *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*. Debakinandan has referred to him in his *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*.

Rāmadās Bipra (Brahmana)

It is described that Rāmadās Bipra was a Brāhmiṇ of South Mathurā. In *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we have seen that the Master showed Rāmadās Bipra the description of Kurmapurāṇa in which the episode of Rāma-Rāvana is written. Hearing this Rāmdās became pleased.

Rāmadās Biśwās

Rāmadās was Kāyastha by caste. In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* it is stated that he was the Professor of Kāvya and Paṇḍit in all Śāstras. He was the worshipper of Raghunāth and a great Vaiṣṇava. He recited always the *Rāmanāma*. On the way from Benaras to Nīlāchala he met Raghunāth Bhatta and carried his luggage. They then came to Nīlāchala and met the Master but the Master did not show him equal affection as he showed to Raghunāth Bhatta and others. Yet he stayed there and taught kavya to all disciples of Pattanāyak lineage.

Rudra Paṇḍit

We do not have any more information except his native place. Rudra Paṇḍit was a Brāhimiṇ and a resident of Ballavapur, one mile away from Māheska (Hooghly). He belonged to Śrīchaitanya group. In previous *līlā* he was called Gopāl.

Śachī (Debī)

Śachī was the mother of Śrīchaitanya and commonly known as Śachīmātā. She was daughter of Nilāmbar Chakraverty of Nabadwipa. The relation of mother with the son was well known. She was found in all biographies and *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*.

Sadāśiva Baidya Kavirāj

Sadāśiva Baidya Kavirāj was the father of Purusottama Dās and son of Kansārī Sen, Baidya by caste, and living at Kanchanpalli. He was a great devotee, became unconscious chanting the name of Hari. We can see his deepness of love for Hari in the *Vaisṇavabandanās*. Kavikarnapur called him Chandravali. He belonged to Nityānanda group of disciple. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* he was known as Chandravali in previous *līlā*.

Sadāśiva Paṇḍit

Sadāśiva Paṇḍit was a Brāhmiṇ and living at Nabadwipa. We have seen in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of KKG that Nityānanda sometimes lived in the house of

Sadāśiva Paṇḍit. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and in *S'rīchaitanyabhāgabat* of Brindābandās he was simply referred to. He dressed Śrīchaitanya as Lakshmī and was a companion of *Kirtan*.

Sanātan

In the *Bhaktiratnākar* we have seen Dās Sanātan was described as disciple of Nityānanda.

Sanātan Miśra

Sanātan Miśra was brother of Viṣṇupriyā, as such brother-in-law of Śrīchaitanya. Kavikarnapur in his *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* described him as Satrajita. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and in all most all biographies his name is found.

Sanjay

We have found the name of Sanjay along with Purusottama in the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmī. But Brindādan Dās in his *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat* has mentioned Purusottama Sanjay as one person. Śrījīva Goswāmī has referred to one Sanjay who was worshipped by him. In *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Debakinandan there we find one person in the name of Sanjay.

So there should not be any doubt regarding the presence of Sanjay who was a great *bhakta* of Śrīchaitanya.

S'aṅkar Ghosh

Śaṅkar Ghosh was an instrumentalist. Kavikarnapur had called him as Mridangi-Sudhākar in his *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*. In *Gourapadatarangini* we have seen one pada composed by him. In *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* he is referred to.

S'aṅkarānanda Saraswatī

According to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Śaṅkarānanda Saraswatī came from Brindāban and brought *gunjamālā* and *Gobardhanasīlā* which was worshipped by Raghunāth Dās Goswāmī from Brindāban. He gave it to Śrīchaitanya who was satisfied seeing these things. The master then wore the *gunjamālā* in his neck and smelt *gobardhanasīlā*. Sometimes he placed it upon his head and called him Krishna.

S'aṅkarsaṇ Purī

According to Śrījīva Goswāmī, Śaṅkarsaṇ Purī was disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. No further materials is available.

Saṅketāchārya

He is mentioned in the sub-group of disciple of Gadādhar. No additional information is available.

Satyānanda Bhāratī

Regarding Satyānanda Bhāratī biographies are silent. We have only information in *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījīva Goswāmī and others. In *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* he was called as Jayanteya. He was a resident of Guptapārā.

Satyarāj Khān

Satyarāj Khān was Kāyastha by caste, second son of Mālādhar Basu, commonly known as Gunrāj Khān. The real name of Satyarāja Khān was Lakshmīnāth Basu. The name was awarded by the emperor of Bengal. Satyarāja Khān was the father of Rāmānanda Basu.

He was a resident of Kulingrām and was favoured by Haridās Ṭhākur. Kavikarnapur called him as Kalakanthi in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*.

Sāranga Dās

Real name of Sāranga Dās according to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* was Bhāgabatāchārya Ṭhākur Sāranga Dās. Kavikarnapur called him his *Gourganoddesadīpikā* as Nandimukhi. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* his name was found. In *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* he was referred to along with Rāmadās, Kavichandra and Śrī Gopāladās.

S'ekhar Paṇḍit

We do not get any information regarding the birth place of Śekhar Paṇḍit but Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmī has referred to him as the disciple of Śrīchaitanya. Rāmgopal Dās, another scholar has grouped him as the disciple of Raghunandan. Śekhar Paṇḍit was different from Chandraśekhar.

S'ibānanda Chakraverty

Śibānanda Chakraverty was an inhabitant of Phuliā, Brindāban. Krishnadās Kavirāja and Jadunāth Dās mentioned him in the group of Gadādhar. Kavikarṇapur had called him as Labangamanjarī. In all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* he was referred to. There was another Śibānanda Chakraverty who belonged to group of Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu according to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita*.

S'ibānanda Dastur

The surname Dastur is available among the Pārsees. Śibānanda Dastur was living at Nīlāchal but included or described as followers of Nīlāchal. Krishnadās Kavirāj mentioned him in the Chaitanya group.

Sītā

Sītā was wife of Adwaita, daughter of Nṛsinha Bhāduri. In the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Brindāban Dās II she was compared to Durgādebi. It is also described that Jagannāth appeared in this world from her promise. We can see many miraculous stories of Sītā Debī in *Sītā Charitra*, *Sītāgunakadamba*, *Adwaita Maṅgal* and *Adwaita Bilāsa*.

S'rībāsa

Śrībāsa was a Brāhmiṇ living at Syllet, Nabadwipa and Kumarhatta. His name was Śrībāsa Paṇḍit and brother of Śrī Mama Paṇḍit. We find that the master always engaged in *Saṅkīrtan* in the house of Śrībāsa. All the four brothers and members of the family worshipped Śrīchaitanya devotedly. He was famous among pañchavatāra. In previous *līlā* he was called Nārada.

S'rīdhar

Śrīdhar was very favourite *bhakta* of Śrīchaitanya. He was also known as Kholabechā Śrīdhar. It is stated in the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* that the master always used to joke with him. The master always took from him different kinds of fruits and also drank water in a broken earthen pot given by Śrīdhar.

In the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and in other biographies his name is found.

S'rīgarbha

Śrīgarbha was Brāhmiṇ and residing at Nabadwipa. It is stated that he was a Brahmachārī. He was a follower of Śrīchaitanya. According to various *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* he was present in the *Kīrtan* party of the temple Śrībāsa. Scholars say that poem number 84 of *Padyāvali* was his composition. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* and almost all biographies he was referred to. Kavikarnapur described him as Niddhi in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*.

S'rīharsa

According to Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmī and Jadunāth, Śrīharsa is included in the list of disciples of Gadādhar group. He was Brāhmiṇ. In previous birth he was called Sukesini in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā*.

S'rīkar

Śrīkar was Brāhmiṇ living at Kanchisali. According to edition of Rādhāgobinda Nāth his real name was Śrīkar Śrīmadhusudan. In the Kalna edition of *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* his name is referred to as Kara Śrī Madhusudan. But Jaykrishna Dās described that a follower in the name of Śrīkar was born at Kanchisali. So it seems that the statement of Nāth's edition is correct. He belonged to Śrīchaitanya group of disciples.

S'rīkānta

According to Kavikarnapur Śrīkānta was brother of Śrībāsa, but in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[87] of Krishnadās Kavirāja, we can find all the names of

Śrībāsa, such as Śrīrāma, Śrīpati and Śrīnidhi. The name Śrīkānta was not mentioned in that book. Jayānanda also in his *S'rīchaitanyamangal* has referred to his name. No further information is found available.

S'rīkānta Sen

Śrīkānta Sen was nephew of Śibānanda Sen, Vaidya and living at Kanchanpalli. He came to Nīlāchala along with other Vaiṣṇavas and was present in the party. Gopīnātha Āchārya introduced all the Vaiṣṇavas with the King Pratāparudra.

Kavikarnapur in his *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* described him as Kātyāyanī. He came alone in one year.

S'rīman Paṇḍit

According to *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat* the birth place of Śrīman Paṇḍit was at Nabadwipa but we do not find any information in any other book.

Śrīman Paṇḍit was the personal servant and companion of *Kīrtan* of the Master and used to show light whenever the Master danced. It indicates the deep relationship between the Master and his disciple.

In *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*, and in almost all biographies he was referred to.

S'rīmān Sen

We have no information regarding the birthplace of Śrīmān Sen. However, we can say he was a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya citing the instances as elucidated in the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita.* He was the principal servant of Śrīchaitanya and did not know other except Śrīchaitanya.[88]

Rāmgopal Dās said that he was disciple of Raghunandan and a great worshipper of Krishna.

S'rīnāth Paṇḍit

Śrīnāth was most favourite of Śrīchaitanya. According to *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmī, Śrīnāth Paṇḍit was a great devotee of Krishna, and he worshipped Krishna so deeply that whole world was surprised to notive. He was a Brāhmiṇ and a resident of Kumārhatta.[89] It is also said that he was the Guru of Karnapur as such he was not mentioned in the *Gouraganoddesadīpikā.* Haraprasād Śāstrī said that he composed a commentary 'Chaitanya-matachandrikā' of Bhāgavata.

S'rīnidhi

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* Śrīnidhi was brother of Śrībāsa. Kavikarnapur addressed him as Nidhi in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā.*[90]

S'rīpati

Śrīpati was disciple of Śrīchaitanya, Brāhmiṇ, residing at Syllet, Nabadwipa and Kumārhatta, and brother of Śrībāsa. In the *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat* and in Nātaka of Kavikarnapur he was mentioned along with Śrīkānta.[91]

S'rīranga Purī

It is said that Śrīranga Purī was the disciple of Mādhavendra as described in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*. He was a south Indian. When Śrīchaitanya travelled in the south he met him. Śrīranga Purī also conveyed the news of death of Śaṅkarāranya. No additional information is available.

Śrīrāma Paṇḍit

Śrīrāma Paṇḍit was the younger brother of Śrībāsa Paṇḍit, a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya. Śrījīva in his *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* referred to as kindful to all. In almost all biographies his reference is available. He attended all places where Śrībāsa had gone.

Śubhānanda Dwija

There is no information available with regard to the home of Śubhānanda Dwija. Any how the surname indicates the caste of him.

He was found engaged in *Kīrtan* organised by Adwaita Āchārya Prabhu in front of the Jagannāth Temple at Puri along with other followers like Gangādās. Hari Dās, etc. Kavikarnapur has called him as Mālati in his *Śrīchaitanya-gaṇoddesadīpikā*.

Subuddhi Miśra

Subuddhi Miśra was a Brāhmiṇ. According to Amulyadhan Bhatta, he was the resident of Belagon of Burdwan but Jaykrishna described him as a resident of Guptipara.

He was direct disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit and father of Jayānanda, the author of *Chaitanyamaṅgal*. We can find him in all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*.

Subuddhi Rāy

The real name is Subuddhi Bhāduri, son of Śrīkrishna Bhāduri, resident of Gouḍa. In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we have found him but we are not sure whether he met Śrīchaitanya. It is stated in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* that he was living at Mathurā where he met Sanātana. He took every care of Sanātan but Sanātana travelled although the jungles and used to live in under the branches of the tree.

Sugrīva Miśra

According to Jaykrishna Sugrīva Miśra was a resident of Phuliā where Gobindananda and Śibānanda Paṇḍit also living. According to Debakinandan the

Master travelled safely from Kuliā to Gour by the bless of Sugrība Miśra. He was a *bhakta* of Śrīchaitanya.[92]

Sudarśan

Sudarśan was the teacher of Śrīchaitanya and known as Vashistha in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur. In all the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* we have seen his references.

S'uklāmbar Brahmachārī

In the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we can see that Śrīchaitanya after his returning from Gayā at Nabadwipa became a great devotee of Śrikrishna. He showed the incarnations of Kṛṣṇa to Adwaita, Nityānanda and Swarūpa. He was dancing in enjoyment. He ate rice in the house of Śuklāmbar and then analysed the meaning of *Hare-Rāma*.

Śuklāmbar Brahmachārī was a resident of Kumārhatta, Nabadwipa. In almost all biographies and in all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* his name was mentioned.

Sundarānanda

Sundarānanda was a constant follower of Nityānanda. He was living at Halda-Mahespur in the district of Jessore. In the *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* of Brindābandās II, it is said that at the calling of Sundarānanda tigers came and heard the *Harināma*.[93] Jayānanda described him as a great devotee who always was full of divine ecstasy.

Suryadās Sarkhel

Suryadās Sarkel was disciple of Nityānanda. He was the father-in-law of Nityānanda and resident of Saligrām. Kavikarnapur in his book referred him as Kakudmi. In all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* his name was found.

Tapan Miśra

Tapan Miśra was originally the resident of East Bengal in one common village on the bank of Padmā. He was a Brāhmiṇ, settled at Banaras at the instance of the Master. In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[94] of Krishnadās Kavirāj Goswāmī we have seen that the Master after returning from Brindāban became a guest in his house for two months. He also begged for two months in that house.

The Master when travelling East Bengal advised him to recite the name of Kṛṣṇa. Tapan wanted to accompany to Nabadwipa but the Master asked him to live at Benaras.

Trimall Bhatta

Trimall Bhatta was a Brāhmiṇ of Śrīrangakshetra. Śrīchaitanya when travelled in the South became the guest in his house of observing the fasting of

Chaturmasya for four months of rainy season. Trimalla Bhatta was a great Vaiṣṇava. The master along with other Vaiṣṇavas passed his days in dancing and singing of *Saṅkīrtan.*[95] Afterwards he proceeded to further South.

Uddhāran Datta

Uddhāran Datta was a goldsmith by caste and resident of Saptagrām. There are many authors who differ in opinion regarding the native place ot Uddhāran Datta. Jaykrishna said that he took birth at Śāntipur. According to Abhirām he was a resident of Krishnapur of Hooghly district. There is a village in the name of Uddhāranpur where a festival used to occur every year. He was a great Vaiṣṇava and established a Nitāi-Gourānga idol at his native village.

Upendra Āśram

There is no any reference found in biographies of Śrīchaitanya written during his life time and after. In *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* we have found his name only. Kavikarnapur had described him as Gopendra Āśram and named him Jayanteya.

Upendra Miśra

Upendra Miśra was the grandfather of Śrīchaitanya, originally resident of Syllet. Jayānanda in his *Chaitanyamaṅgal* stated the name of Śrīchaitanya's grandfather as Janārdan Miśra. In *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishṅadās Kavirāj Goswāmī we have got all the names of all brothers of Śrīchaitanya's father.

SECTION C

The persons who were not only followers or disciples but wrote some poems on Krishnakathā and changed the traditional technique of composing of poems during contemporary period.

These persons better known as padakartās, were the most devout Vaiṣṇavas. The time of their birth and death can be ascertained but the period and place of their preaching can not be decided for want of authentic information. Only we can say that they lived during the period (16th century). From their works and from anthologies of later period, the date of composition, their presence and location can also be known partially. The poets who attended the famous "kheturi" festival held in the 1593-94 A.D. organised by Narottama, found in the '*Bhaktiratnākar*' or '*Narottama Vilas*' are also included.

1. Acharyachandra
2. Ananta
3. Ananta Das
   (a) Anantadas Acharya
   (b) Ananta Das
4. Ananta Pandit
5. Atmaram Das
6. Balaram Das
7. Bajrananda
8. Ballavadas

9. Bansidas
10. Bansibadan Das
11. Basudeva Datta
12. Basudeva Ghosh
13. Bhagavatacharya
14. Bhupati
15. Bijayananda Das
16. Birachandra
17. Birahambira
18. Bisnu Das
19. Bisnu Puri
20. Brindaban Das
21. Chaitanya Das
22. Chandi Das
23. Chandrasekhar Acharya
24. Chandrasekhar Das
25. Champati
26. Chiranjib
27. Chudamani Das
28. Debakinandan Das
29. Dhananjay Pandit
30. Dharani
31. Dibyasingha
32. Dwija Gangaram
33. Dwija Haridas
34. Giridhar Das
35. Gobardhana
36. Gobinda Ghosh
37. Gobindadas Acharya
38. Gobindadas Chakraverty
39. Gobindadas Kaviraj
40. Gobindadas Karmakar
41. Gokuladas Bhatta
42. Gopal Bhatta
43. Gopikanta Basu
44. Gopiraman
45. Goswami Das
46. Gouranga Das
47. Gouri Das
48. Gupta Das
49. Haricharan Das
50. Hariram Das
51. Isannagar
52. Isanacharya
53. Iswar Puri
54. Jadu Kabichandra
55. Jadunandan Das
56. Jagannatha Das
57. Jasoraj Khan
58. Jayachandra Das
59. Jayakrishna Das
60. Janaki Das
61. Janaki Ballava
62. Jnana Das
63. Jayananda
64. Kavikanthahar
65. Kavi Karnapur
66. Kaviranjan
67. Kaviratna
68. Kavisekhar
69. Kamadeva Das
70. Kama Thakur
71. Kanuram Das
72. Kishore Das
73. Kumudananda
74. Krishna Das
75. Krishnakanta
76. Krishnadas Kaviraj
77. Lakshmikanta Das
78. Lochan Das
79. Lokanath Das
80. Manohar Das
81. Mathura Das
82. Madhaba Das
83. Madhabi Das
84. Madhaba Ghosh
85. Madhabananda
86. Mohan Das
87. Murari Gupta
88. Narahari Das Sarkar

89. Norottama Das
90. Narayan Misra
91. Nayanananda
92. Nrisimha Deb
93. Nityananda Das
94. Paramananda Das
95. Parameswar Das
96. Prasada Das
97. Purusottama Das
98. Raghunath Das
99. Rasika Das
100. Rasikananda
101. Radha Das
102. Radhaballava Das
103. Raghabendra Ray
104. Ramachandra
105. Ramananda Basu
106. Raybasanta
107. Raysekhar
108. Sachinandan Das
109. Sankar Das
110. Sanatan
111. Shyama Das
112. Shyamananda Das
113. Sivananda Acharya
114. Sivananda Sen
115. Srinibas Acharya
116. Subal Ch. Thakur
117. Sulochan
118. Swarupa Das
119. Swarupa Damodar
120. Tulasi Das
121. Uddhava Das

Āchārya Chandra

We have the description of this person in two important books—one in Brindābandās's '*Chaitanyabhāgavata*' and Devakinandan's '*Vaiṣṇavabandanā*'. Chandraśekhar Āchāryaratna was the uncle-in-law of Chaitanya, and Āchāryaratna was very favourite of Chaitanya. Dr. S. Sen in his '*Brajabuli Literature*'[96] has mentioned single pada of Āchārya Chandra which was discovered from a old hand-written manuscript.[97] In this manuscript, we feel great devotion for Nityānanda. In the beginning there are Salutation of Gour '*Gouravandanā*'. So it is clear that Āchārya Chandra might have been the disciple of Nityānanda or Āchārya Ratna a devout padakartā.

Ananta

Although originally a believer in Chaitanyaism, Ananta initiated himself under Adwaita as described in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishna Dās Kavirāj Goswāmī. He was a Brāhmiṇ of Nabadwipa. Śrījīva Goswāmī and other compilers of *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* described him as the resident of Nabadwipa. Kavikarnapur in his *Śrīchaitanyaganoddesadīpikā* referred to him as Subedi. In the *Padakalpataru* we can see one pada (stanza) of his composition.

Ananta Dās

It can be said with some certainty that there were two persons in the name of Anantadās. In the '*Padakalpataru*' we have seen rhymes of Ananta Āchārya, Anantadās and Ananta Rāy. Generally the surname Rāy cannot be used with Āchārya. So these two titles indicate two persons in the name of Ananta Āchārya and Ananta Rāy. The title Dāsa itself indicates subordination and humility. It is used in the sense of modesty for *Istadeva.* So it is believed that there were two *padakartās* in the name of Ananta which can be easily substantiated, by *Chaitanyacharitāmrita.*

Ananta Das Acharya

He was a permanent worshipper of Gobinda at Brindaban. It is described that his disciple Haridas Pandit advised Krishnadas Kaviraja to write *Chaitanya-charitāmrita.* Anantadas Acharya was a great lover of Krishna and possessed various qualifications which cannot be expressed as stated in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita.* He served always vaiṣṇavas carefully and attentively. The author stated that Haridas very kindly ordered him to describe the Gouranga Lila.

We can see a poem included in *Padakalpataru* under his name. Anantadās Āchārya was a Brāhmiṇ and disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. In another place where the name of disciples of Gadādhar Paṇḍit come into forefront the name of Ananta Āchārya is there. Ananta was identified with the incarnation of Subedi and servant of Gourānga.

Viewing these we can certainly presume that Ananta Āchārya, Gourānga Dev and Gadadhar Pandit were contemporary. Though Ananta Āchārya's date of birth was not known we can conjecture that he might have been born between 1550 and 1582 A.D. He was present at the Kātwa festival[98] and when Chaitanya was going Nīlāchal was accompanied by him.

Ananta Dās

In the *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita,* we get a referencc to him. He is mentioned in the list of Adwaita Āchārya's disciple. He might have been one of the disciples of Adwaita.[99] He was not the same person as Anantadās Āchārya. Their poems were mixed to such an extent that they could not be separated from each other. It is very hard to distinguish one's poem from these of the other.

We get 32 padas of Ananta Āchārya and one pada of Ananta Dās. The naming of several persons in one name is prevalent even in the present day. So the question of differentiation is not important.

Ananta Paṇḍit

Ananta Paṇḍit was a Brāhmiṇ living in Ātisāra. According to Brindāban Dās Śrīchaitanya on his way to Nīlāchala took rest in the honse of Ananta Paṇḍit. Jagadbandhu Bhadra has suggested that Ananta Paṇḍit was no other than Ananta Dās, a *padakartā,* and contemporary of Śrīchaitanya.

Ātmārām Dās

We do not get more about him than four padas inserted in *Padakalpataru*—three of which relate to Nityānanda. From this it can be inferred that Ātmārām Dās was the disciple and a contemporary of Nityānanda. But Dr. Sen does not believe (is of the view) that Ātmārām Dās was father of Nityānanda, the author of *Premavilās*. There were two disciples of Śrīnivās Āchārya in the name of Ātmārām Dās but they were not the writer of these padas because it does not mention any relation with Āchārya Śrīnivās.

Balarām Dās

There are differences of opinion regarding the presence of three Balarām Dās but all of them were Vaiṣṇava Poets. It is a great problem when we have in hand could be credited to. The nature and character of writings justifies that these are the composition of one person. Balarām Dās was a poet of parental love and he was the only great poet from whom the poems of parental love sprang. The three opinions may be cited: One—Balarām Dās who was the disciple of Nityānanda lived in the village Dogachhiya. He established the idol of Gopāl in that village according to the advice of his Guru. Till today in his village his death anniversary is being observed in the month of October-November (Agrahāyana). It is known that he was Balaram Das as described in the *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* and *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita.*[100] The date of birth of this Balarām is not known but he attended the Kheturi Festival.

The second view was that Nityānanda Dās is known by Balarām Dās whose father was Ātmārām Dās and he was an inhabitant of Śrīkhanda. He was the author of '*Premabilas*' and the disciple of Jānhabī Debī. He also attended the ceremony of Kheturi. The date of birth is not known.

The third view is that Balarām was the disciple of Rāmachandra Kavirāja, the inhabitant of Budhari village and his date of birth is unknown. There are 136 padas connected with Balarām Dās collected in *Padakalpataru*.

Bajrānanda

We have little information about Bajrānanda. According to *Karnananda*, Bajrānanda was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya and was living at Brindāban. Only one pada was collected in *Padakalpataru*. His date of birth and death is unknown.

Ballava Dās

There were three persons in the name of Ballavadās. In the *Padakalpataru* we can see padas of Ballavadas, Ballava and Śrīballava. If we go through some padas it can be known that the padas under the name of Ballava Dās and Śrīballava are composition of one poet. His exact date of birth is not known. Govinda Dās[101] in his two padas mentioned the name of Ballava along with his name. Ballava Dās also in one pada praised Govinda Dās. From this it can be said that Ballava Dās or Śrīballava were contemporary of Govinda Dās. All of them were present during the time or little before and after 1583 A.D. Two persons in the name of Śrīballava were present at that time. Śrīballava Ṭhākur was the resident of Dewli village and a disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. Śrīballavadās Mazumdār was the disciple of Rāmachandra Kavirāj. It is known that Ballava Dās the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya was a celebrated poet. His exact date of death is not known. In one of his pada he mentioned that he was alive after the death of Śrīnivāsa, Narottama and Govinda Dās. In one of his padas Narottama is mentioned. Kaviballava—We get only one stanza written by the poet Kavivallava. He was an inhabitant of village Mohāsthān (now in Bangla Desh) situated on the bank of Karotoā. His father's name was Rājaballava. He was the disciple of Uddhava Dās. His exact date of birth and death is not known. In his own book '*Rasakadamba*' he mentioned the period of writing (Saka 1520 i.e. 1898 A.D.). So he was living before and after 1598 A.D. His *padas* indicate that he was the disciple of Narottama Dās. The *padas* are as follows :

"Narottama āsha charane rahu
Śrīballava-mana mor.
Padakalpataru-pada-1022.

Bańśīdās

Bańśībadan Dās sometimes composed padas in the name of Bańśīdās. But we have some references to another Bańśīdās. Satis Chandra Rāy is of opinion that whatever number of padas are written under the name of Bańśī or Bańśībadan are all composed by Bańśībadan. Dr. S. Sen believes in the presence of another Bańśī, we can find a single *pada* of Bańśīdās in '*Gaurapadatarangini*'.

jay jai mor āchārya ṭhākur
agati patita ati
karuṇā kariyā swacharane rākha
e mor pāpesthamati[102]

According to this, Bańśīdās was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. In the *Karnananda* we can find the citation of one Bańśīdās who was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya.

Śrī Bańśīdās ṭhākur ahe mahāsaya
prabhur priya śākhā hay madhur āśaya[103]

Under the above circumstances we can conclude that there were two different poets in the name of Bańśīdās and Bańśībadan. Both of them were disciples of Śrīnivās Āchārya. In course of time their *padas* were mixed. It can be said that *padas* given above were composed by Bańśīdās. Bańśīdās was present at the Kheturi ceremony according to *Bhaktiratnākar*. One Bańśīdās translated *Nikunja-Rahasya Stava* of Rūpa Goswāmī. In this there are 33 *padas* most of them written in Brajabuli. It can easily be presumed that this Baṅśīdās most probably identical with Baṅśīdās cited above.

Baṅśībadan Dās

The date of birth of Baṅśībadan Dās is 1494 A.D. He was born in the village '*Kuliā Pāhāḍa*' near Nabadwipa. His father was Chhakari Chatta. His reference is found in *Baṅśī-śikshā* which stand as follows :

Śrī Chhakari Chatta nāma bikhyāta bhubana /
pātulir bās chhāri teh kuliyaya //
bās karilen āsi āpan ichchhaya /
tāhār ātmaja baṅśī jāne sarbajan //[104]

He was known in five names which can be found in the book named *Baṅśī-Vilās*.

Śrībaṅśīvadan, baṅśī ār baṅśīdās /
Śrībadan, badanānda pañcham prakās //
prabhur pāñchati nām gāya kavigan /
mukhya nām hay kintu Śrībaṅśībadan //[105]

On the basis of the above information Satis Chandra Rāy considered Baṅśīdhar and Baṅśīvadan as one person. But Dr. Sen, on the basis of *Karnananda* and *Bhaktiratnākar* takes them as two individuals.

The poet was the most favourite followers of Chaitanyadev. After Chaitanya's taking to ascetic life Baṅśībadan was always by the side of Viṣṇupriyā. He established an idol in the name of Prāṇaballava. We can find in the '*Padakalpataru*' 25 padas of Baṅśībadan and 17 padas of Baṅśīdās. It is said that Chaitanyadeva taught him Rasarāja worship. He had two books '*Dipakojjwala*' and '*Dipanwita*' to his credit. The writings of Baṅśībadan has some special value and historical importance because he had personal relation with Chaitanyadeva.

Bāsudeva Datta

Bāsudevadatta was one of the followers of Śrīchaitanya. In the *Kshanadāgīta Chintāmani*, 1st ed. we can find one pada under the name of Bāsudeva Datta. He was among the followers of Śrīchaitanyadeva.

Bāsudeva Ghosh

He was a resident of the village Barna or Burangi in the district of Syllet. Mādhaba and Gobinda were his two brothers. These three brothers were famous *padakartā* and singer. Bāsudeva Ghosh was one of the favourite followers of Śrīchaitanya. He composed all his poems specially on Goura. He took Śrīchaitanya as the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. He described *Chaitanya-Līlā* based on the standard of *Kṛṣṇalīlā*. The different forms of *Kṛṣṇalīlā* was being applied on the

standard of *Kṛṣṇalīlā*. The different forms of *Kṛṣṇalīlā* was being applied on the

character of Chaitanya. Chaitanya is here personified as Kṛṣṇa. Bāsudev Ghosh was the founder of *Nadiā Nāgarībhāva* or the devotion of women for Chaitanya. Also Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj in his *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita* mentioned this fact.

Bāsudeb gīta karen prabhur barnane /
kāsṭha pāsānādi drabe jāhār śrabane //
—Sri Ch. Ch., 1/11/62

Devakinandan Dās in his *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* also praised Bāsudev Ghosh

Śrī Bāsudeva Ghosh bandiba sābdhāne /
Gourgun binā yei anya nāhi jāne. //

There are 95 and 137 padas of Bāsudeba Ghosh in *Padakalpataru* and *Gourapadatarangini* respectively. In the *Vaisnavachardarpana* we have the same reference to Bāsudeva Ghosh. The exact date of birth and death is unknown. He was contemporary of Śrīchaitanya.

Bhāgavatāchārya

The name of Bhāgavatāchārya was Raghunāth. He could recite Bhāgavatapurāṇa in sweet and heart-striking voice. He was the follower and disciple of Śrīchaitanya and Gadādhar Paṇḍit. On his way to Puri Chaitanya took rest for one night in the house of Raghunāth. Hearing his reading of 'Bhāgavata', Śrīchaitanya pleased very much and awarded the name 'Bhāgavatāchārya' to him. This fact is mentioned in the *Chaitanyabhāgavata.*'[106] Raghunāth composed the work *'Kṛṣṇapremataranginī'*. Paramānanda Sen (Kavikarnapur) also mentioned this fact in his work *'Gouraganoddesadīpikā'*. The completion of *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* occurred in the year 1575 A.D. So the book *Kṛṣṇaprematarangini* was written before *Gouraganoddesadīpikā.* The date of birth is not known, yet it must be before 1575 A.D. His one 'pada' can be found in the *Kṛṣṇaprematarangini.*

Bhupati

There are four and two padas of Bhūpati and Bhūpatinatha added in the *Padakalpatāru*. Dr. Sen[107] and S. C. Rāy are of opinion that there are no individual *padakartas* in the name of Bhūpati. In the composition of Champati we can find reference to Bhūpati.

Bijayānanda Dās

Among the followers of Śrīchaitanya there was one Bijaya Dās. He copied in old manuscript for Śrīchaitanya. It is assumed that a pada which is found in *Padakalpataru* in the name of Bijayānanda Dās is really a composition of Bijaya Dās because in the Vaiṣṇava literature there is no such man like Bijayānanda Dās. All the padas so far received are mainly regarding Gourānga and it is reflecting that

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both Bijay Dās and Śrīchaitanya. The exact date of birth and death is not known. He was a contemporary of Śrīchaitanya. Śrījiva Goswāmī, Debakinandan has mentioned his name in the *Vaiṣṇavabandanās*. Brindāban Dās II also has stated him as 'Lekhaka Bijayananda'. We have found one stanza (pada) in *Padakalataru* of Bijayānanda as such Satish Chandra Ray and Jagadabandhu Bhadra believed that this *pada* might have been written by Bijoy Lekhak.

Behari Das

Dr. Sen in *History of Brajbuli Lit*. has quoted a single *pada* of Behāridas. In *Premavilās* and *Narottam Vilās* there is the mention of one who was the disciple of Narottama Ṭhākur. No more information is available regarding Behāri Das. He was a poet.

Bīrachandra

We have got only one pada of Bīrachandra. Dr. Sen in his work quoted from *Padakalpalatikā* and *Kirtangita-Ratnavali*. He was not that Bīrachandra, the son of Narottama. He was probably living ca. 1525 A.D.

Bīra Hāmbīra

Bīra Hāmbīra was the king of Mallabhumi. Near about 1580 A.D. Śrīnivās Āchārya initiated the king into Vaiṣṇavism. We can have an elaborate description of king's activities in the *'Premavilas'*, *Karnananda* and *Bhaktiratnākar*. After the initiation, Śrīnivās named Bīra Hāmbīra as Chaitanya Dās. We can find one pada in *Karnananda* and another in *Padakalpataru*.[111] Another pada can be found in *Bhaktiratnakar*.

Biṣṇu Dās

A short ballad written by Sītā Devī, wife of Adwaita, was known in the name of Biṣṇu Dās but his description regarding his work is not complete. He regarded Kṛṣṇa Dās Kavirāj and *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* which indicates Biṣṇu Dās was junior Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj.

Biṣṇu Purī

There is controversy regarding the period of Biṣṇu Purī among the scholars. Some say that he was elder than Śrīchaitanya and other say that he was contemporary of Śrīchaitanya on the basis of the following proofs. 1. *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* described him as the disciple of Mādhavendra Purī ; 2. Priya Dās, commentator of hindi *Bhaktamal* said that Biṣṇu Purī compiled *Bhaktiratnabali* at the instance of Śrīchaitanya ; 3. Jayānanda and Lochan Dās also included him among the followers of Śrīchaitanya.

Brindāban Dās

Brindāban Dās was the son of Nārāyanī Ṭhākurānī, niece of Śrīvās Paṇḍit. Śrīvās was the most favourite follower of Śrīchaitanya. It is said that Brindāban Dās was born in the year 1507 A.D. but it is not correct. The date of expiry is suggested to be 1588 A.D. He was present in the Kheturi festival of Vaiṣṇavas. In addition to padas Brindāban Dās write Chaitanyabhāgavata a biographical treatise of Chaitanya. Its time of composition is suggested in different years such as 1535, 1548, 1557 and 1573 A.D.

Chaitanya Dās

There were many Chaitanya Dās during the period under review. Yet we had have two prominent Chaitanyadās who were mainly *padakartas.* These two persons though differ in personality but their originality of composition and character of poetic diction do not suggest any difference. The 15 *padas* received so far indicate that those are the composition of one person. The first Chaitanyadās was the eldest son of Śivānanda Sen. Possibly enough that second Chaitanya Dās was the son of Baṅśīvadan, and he might have been a *padakartā.* His exact date of birth and death is not known. He attended the kheturi conference. The following stanza will prove that he was contemporary of Chaitanyadeva.

mohe bihi biparita bhela /
abhimane mohe upekhi pahun gela //
... ...
ki kariba ki na jani haila /
parana putuli gora more chhori gela //
—Padakalpataru, Pada 63

Chaṇḍī Dās

Among the Bengali Vaiṣṇava poets we have many Chaṇḍī Dās. We can see a large number of padas indicate the presence of Chaṇḍī Dās. Any how there were Ādi Chaṇḍī Dās, Dwija Chaṇḍī Dās, Dīna Chaṇḍī Dās and Baḍu Chaṇḍīdās known from the epilogues and prologues so far. There was a Chaṇḍī Dās who was the author of Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan. Scholars are of different opinion whether there were one or two or more Chaṇḍī Dās, yet almost all believe that there were two Chaṇḍi Dās.

The first one was prior to Śrīchaitanya that is referred to in the *Śrīchaitanya-charitāmrita.*[112] Chaitanyadev was pleased hearing the songs of Chaṇḍī Dās. This Chaṇḍī Dās was no other than Baḍu Chaṇḍī Dās who lived in 14th century A.D. His Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan is an immortal work.

The second one was after Śrīchaitanya, it is known as such. He was Dīna Chaṇḍī Dās. The authology of Dīna Chaṇḍī Dās's poem was made by Manindra Mohan Basu. In this collection was find one pada in which the adoration to

Narottama Dās exists. From this it is decided that Dīna Chaṇḍī Dās was the disciple of Śrīchaitanya.

Chandraśekhar Dās

There were two persons in the name of Chandraśekhar. One of them, it seems, came after Vaiṣṇavadāsa. In the *Padakalpataru* there are no poems of Chandraśekhar Dās. The another Chandraśekhar was entitled Āchārya. This Chandraśekhar was the devotee and contemporary of Chaitanya. Chandraśekhar Āchārya along with other followers used to go every year at the time of *Ratha Yātrā* in order to have a visit to Śrīchaitanya who was living at Puri after his initiation. The references to these incidents can be easily found in the *S'rīchaitanyabhāgavat* and *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita.* Besides these, we get three *padas* of Chandraśekhar Āchārya in the *Padakalpataru.* There was a third Chandraśekhar who was the disciple of Narahari Sarkār and can be traced in the *Śākhānirnaya* written by Rāmgopāldās.

Chandraśekhar Āchārya

Chandraśekhar Āchārya was a disciple of Śrīchaitanya. Brāhmiṇ, resident of Syllet. Later on he came to Nabadwipa. It is known from *Chaitanyachandrodaya-nātaka* that he had a house at Puri. According to *Padakalpataru,* Vol. V, Page 108, he wrote a few poems an *Gouralīlā.* It is also said that the poem No. 1854 was written by Chandraśekhar Āchārya.

Champati

Champati was contemporary and friend of Gobindadās Kavirāj. In the padas of Govinda Dās we can see the name of Champati. In one pada with the name of Vidyāpati name 'Champati' came. In the two padas of Govinda Dās, we get the references to Champati. One pada of him is collected in '*Padakalpataru*'.

> Vidyāpati Kavi Champati bhāṇa /
> Rainā heraba tohāri bayana //

Chiranjib

Chiranjib was a disciple of Śrīchaitanya. According to Rāmgopāl Dās he was the disciple of Raghunandan. He was Baidya by caste and a resident of Śrīkhanda in the District of Burdwan. In *Bhaktiratnākar,* it is stated that he had a house at Kumarnagar. He married the daughter of Dāmodar Kavirāj and lived at Śrīkhanda. He was the father of famous *padakartā,* Govinda Dāsa Kavirāj. The Sloka No. 157 of *Padyāvali* is stated to be his composition. He had two sons Rāmachandra and Gobinda Kavirāj disciples of Narahari Sarkār.[113]

Chuḍāmani Dās

He was the author of *Bhuban-Mangal*, but we do not got more information. Dr. S. Sen has made references to the poet in the *History of Bengali literature*.

Dhanañjaya-paṇḍit Khaṇḍita bhababandha /
Chuḍāmanidās kare pāñchāli-prabandha //
Rāmdās-Dhanañjaya Kariyā sahāya /
Gourajanmahetu Chuḍāmanidās gāya //
Bāngla Sāhityera Itihās, p. 262.

Debakinandan Dās

It is stated that the previous name of Debakinandan Dās was Chapala Gopāla. When a saṅkīrtan party was performing kīrtan in the house of Śrīvāsa, Debakinandan came with materials to worship the goddess Śakti. He tried to convince those Vaiṣṇavas who were present in that function but as a result of which he suffered from leprosy. Śrīvās Paṇḍit excused and asked him to worship Vaiṣṇavas. He then wrote Vaiṣṇava Bandanā. We can see five padas of Debakinandan Dās in *Padakalpataru*. Debakinandan Dās was the disciple and contemporary of Purusottama Dāsa.

Vaiṣṇava nindena tomār eteka durgati /
Vaiṣṇava Vandanā kari suddha kara mati //
Gourapadatarangini, Introductory page 45.

Debakinandan Das in his '*Vaiṣṇavabandanā*' wrote :

purusottam padāsraya kari giyā ghare /
Gourpadatarangini, Introductory page 98.

Purusottama was the disciple of Nityānanda. Besides, the 'Vaiṣṇava padas' and 'vandanas' he compiled *Vaiṣṇavabhidhān*.

Dhanañjaya Paṇḍit

Dhanañjaya Paṇḍit son of Śrīpati and Kālindi Debī, belonged to the Nityānanda group of followers. His native place was Jargram-Chattagram but afterwards settled at Sitalgram in the district of Burdwan. It is also said that Sanchra Panchra was his native place. Śrījīva Goswāmī, Debakinandan and Brindāban Dās described that Dhanañjaya Paṇḍit donated all his property to the Master and became an ascetic. Authors are of the opinion that 65 number[114] of rhyme was his composition. Many wicked persons of the village Sital became his disciple. His younger brother lived at the Sital village and worship "Radhagobind" there.

According to Gaurāṅga Mādhuri his father and mother were Ādideva Vāsaspati and Dayāmayee.

He married Haripriyā and left home after few days.

Dharani

The name of Dharani is only known from the four padas collected in the *Padakalpataru.* One pada is given below for reference.

> Pahu mora Śrīnivās /
> Abirata Rāmachandra pahu biharata //
> sange Narottamdās. /
> —Padakalpataru, Pada 2381.

It is known from the above *pada* that Dharani was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. His exact date of birth is not known, he was a contemporary of Śrīnivās Āchārya. In the biographies of Śrīnivās Āchārya—we do not find the references to Dharani. It seems that he might have been in the traditional test of Śrīnivās Āchārya's disciple. Dharani was a great poet though the number of poems written by him is not more.

Dibyasingha

Though the exact date of birth and death is unknown yet there is no confusion that he was the son of Govinda Dāsa Kavirāj and disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya.[115] He was one of the delegates who attended the Kheturi conference. We get only one pada of him which is collected in the '*Saṅkīrtanāmrita*'.

Dwija Gaṅgārām

In the '*Kshanadāgītachintāmani*' we can see one *pada* of this poet which is meant for the salutation to Nityānanda. Dr. S. Sen in this respect has found out one *pada* of Dwija Gaṅgārām in one manuscript stored in the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad. So we can say that Dwija Gaṅgārām was a *padakartā.* There was another Gaṅgādās known as Baḍa Gaṅgādās who was the brother and disciple of Jāhnabī Devī and Gauridās Paṇḍit respectively.[116] He attended the conference of Vaiṣṇavas at Kheturi. Perhaps his full name was Gaṅgārām Dās and a renouned *padakartā.*

Dwija Haridās

There was one devotee of Chaitanyadev in the name of Haridās. Dwija Haridās was a resident of Kanachangaria. During last part of his life he went Brindavan and lived there. Śrīnivās Āchārya taught two sons of Dwija Haridās. In one of the *padas* he praised the worthiness of Śrīnivāsa. So it can be presumed that he had love for Śrīnivāsa or he was a follower of Śrīnivāsa. We did not get any information of exact date of birth and death of Dwija Haridās. Perhaps he was living ca. 1533 A.D. The most important work of him is "*Nāma Saṅkīrtan*".

The second Haridās accompanied Śrīchaitanyadev to Puri and was living with him. Śrīchaitanyadev used to hear kīrtan from Haridās. Once Haridās begged handful of alms for Śrīchaitanya and exchanged the alms for good rice from

Mādhabī, sister of Sikhi Māhity and talked with her against the advise of Śrīchaitanyadev. It is said that Chaitanyadev afterwards gave up his companion. Dukhy Haridās then jumped into the Ganges and died. *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* refers two Haridās.

Baḍa Haridās ār chhota Haridās /
dui kīrtaniyā rahe mahāprabhu pāsh //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., 1-10-61.

We can also find references to second Haridās in the same book.

Paṇḍit gosāiner śiṣya Ananta Āchārya /
Kṛṣṇa premamayatanu udār mahāārya //
Tāhār ananta ke karu prakāś /
Tār priya śiṣya ihon paṇḍit Haridās //

* *

Tihon baḍa Kripā kari ājñā dile more /
Gourānger śesha līlā barnibār tare //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 8, p. 53.

According to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* there was third Haridās in the table of disciples of Gadādhar Paṇḍit and he was contemporary of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj. There was a fourth Haridās known as Thakur Haridās originally Muslim but converted to Hindu. In the *Padakalataru* we have the reference to Haridās. The particular *pada* written by Vaiṣṇavadās.

Gourāngachander priya parikar dwija Haridās nām /
Kīrtanbilāsī premasukharāshī, yugal raseradhām //
Tāhār nandan prabhu dwijan Śrīdās gokulānanda /

* * *

Gorā gunamay sadayhriday, premamay Śrīnivās /
Āchārya thakur kheyāti yāhār, dohe rahe tār pāś //
Pitri-anumati janiya e dohe, haila tāhār śākhī /
—Padakalpataru, Pada 17.

Giridhar Dās

Giridhar Dās was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. His exact date of birth and death is not known. We can find two *padas* one in *Kshandā-gīta-chintāmani* and the other in '*Saṅkīrtanāmrita*'. He had in his credit a Sanskrit book '*Parkiya-Siddhanta-Sangraham*".

Gobardhan

We can see 16 padas in the *Padakalpataru* under the name Gobardhan. There were 4 persons in the name of Gobardhan. 1. Gobardhan, father of Raghunāth Dās, was a resident of Chandpur. The Muslim Haridās sometimes lived in the house of Gobardhan. His reference can be found in one pada of Rādhāballavadās. Gobardhandās was a rich man. Raghunāth Goswāmī was the father of this famous man. He was not famous as poet or writer. 2. There was a Gobardhandās, a kīrtaniyā, who sang Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa songs in the temple of Gokulchandra of Jaypur. 3. There was also a disciple of Narottama Dās in the name of Gobardhandās mentioned in the Narottambilāsa.

Jay Śrī bhāndāri gobardhan bhāgyabān /
Jahu sarbamate kāryakare samādhān //

In the *'Premabilās'* we have found the reference to Gobardhan.

Gobardhan bhāndāri sākhā sakal bidita /
Mahāsaya kare tāre atisaya preeta. //

But we are not sure that Gobardhan, disciple of Narottama Thākur was poet.

There was another Gobardhandās of the family of Shyāmānanda, but we do not find any reference to him that he was poet, who among the 4 Gobardhandās was the writer of the 16 *padas* collected in the *Padakalpataru.* Gobardhan Bhāndāri was a *padakartā* It is supported in the *Gopipadatarangini* The padas are composed in Bengali and Brajabuli related to *Krisṇalīlā* and *Chaitanyalīlā.*

Gobinda Ghosh

He was the companion and contemporary of Śrīchaitanya. He was a famous Kīrtaniyā. His all compositions are about Gourānga. In the *Padakalpataru* we can see 6 *padas* of Gobinda Ghosh. He was the brother of Mādhaba and Bāsudeva Ghosh. The date of his birth and death is not known. In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* and in the *Chaitanyabhāgavat* we are able to find out some references to Gobinda Ghosh.

Gobinda Mādhab Bāsudeva the bhāi /
Jān sabār kīrtan nāche Chaitanya gosāin //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 70, p. 60.

Gobindadās Āchārya

He was the disciple and contemporary of Śrīchaitanya, perhaps was present ca. 1533 A.D. His composition afterwards was present mixed with Gobindadās Karmakār and Kavirāj as such we do not get specific *padas.* We have references to Āchārya in *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* and *Gouraganoddesadīpikā. Vaiṣṇavabandanā* mention as follows :

Gobinda Āchārya bandyo sarva guṇasālī /
ye kahilā rādhākrishner bichitra dhāmālī //
—Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇavabandanā.
Gobinda Āchārya pada karila bandan /
Rādhākrishna rahasya ye karila barnan //
—Hist. of Beng. Lit. by Mādhabānanda, p. 204.

Chintiya Chaitanyadeva charanakamal /
Dwija Gobinda bole Śrīkrishna maṅgal //

—History of Banga Literature—a hand written copy preserved in Royal Asiatic Society Library.

It can be said that he might have been written a book like *Śrīkrishnamaṅgal.*

Gobindadās Chakraverty

Govindadās Chakraverty was an inhabitant of Borakuli Village, a devotee and also poet, a disciple of same Guru. Though his date of birth is yet to be known yet his period of writing was near about 1583 A.D. *Padakalpataru* as it is the source of other Vaiṣṇava poets also states the fact in respect of Govindadās Chakraverty. We can find out in it six padas of Govindadās Chakraverty. In the '*Bhaktiratnākar*' the reference to Govindadās Chakraverty is as follows:

Āchāryer ati priya śiṣya Chakravarty /
Gītabādya bidyāya nipuna bhaktimurty //

Besides, these references we have other source where 'Vaiṣṇavadas' writes as:

Jay jay yugala-piritimaya Śrījuta /
Chakravarty Gobinda.[117]

Uddhava Dās in one of his poem referred to his name

Śrīdās Gokulānanda Chakraverty /
Śrīgobinda Śrīrāma-charana Śrīlabyās[118] //

Govindadās Kavirāj

Kavirāj was the most famous Vaiṣṇava Poet during the post-Chaitanya period. He only wrote poems in Brajabuli. He wrote many in the *Padakalpataru* we can easily get 460 *padas* of Kavirāj. His birth occurred in 1530 A.D. and death might have been in 1613 A.D. However, there are many references to him in *Bhaktamāl*, *Bhaktiratnākar*, *Premabilās* and other books. According to *Bhaktamāl*, Rāmachandra Kavirāj was the brother of Gobinda Kavirāj. Rāmdās Kavirāj on the day of his marriage left house and got initiated by Śrīnivās Āchārya. Seeing his brother's condition, Govinda Kavirāj who was śākta, accepted vaiṣṇavism. In '*Premabilās*'[119] we see that elder brother of Govindadās has given his self-acquaintance to Śrīnivās Āchārya which indicates that Govinda was a resident of the village Tilia Budhari. The quotation stands such:

Tilia budhari grāme janma mor hay /
Pitār nāma Chiranjib Sen mahāsaya //
Kanisṭha bhrātār nāma haye se Gobinda /
Ekodare dui bhāi parama swachchhanda //

It is said that the poet himself named his own collection as 'Gītāmṛta'. We can see that Govindadās attended the Kheturi Mahotsava and this fact is in the *Bhaktiratnākar*.

Not only he attended the conference he sang the *kirtan* which was praised by Bīrabhadra Goswāmī and others.

> Śrī Gobinda Kavirājer duti kare dhari /
> Kahe tugo kavyer bālāi laiyā mari //
>
> —Padakalpataru, Part 4, Parisista, p. 66.

Gokuladās

Gokuladās according to *Bhaktiratnākar* was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. He also known as Kabindra. He was originally a resident of Kadhi afterwards migrated to Sergarh in Panchkot. His date of birth as well as death is unknown. We get only one *pada* composed by Gokuladās in which he dealt with innumerable names and titles of Kṛṣṇa.

Gopāla Bhatta

Gopāla Bhatta was a south Indian Brāhmiṇ. His father was Venkata Bhatta, an inhabitant of Bhattamari. When Śrīchaitanya travelled south he met him. Afterwards Gopāl Bhatta went Bṛndāvan and settled there. Gradually he became renowned as one of the six famous Goswāmī. There is no certainty in regard to his date of birth and death. His presence is occurred from 1503 to 1578 A.D. He has produced a memorial work for Vaiṣṇavas. In the '*Padakalpataru*' we find three *padas* of Gopāl Bhatta written in Brajabuli.

Gobindadās Karmakār

It is said that Karmakār was the servant of Śrīchaitanyadev. He also wrote the major incidents of Chaitanya's life, mainly the incidents of Puri, and South India. He says, "I got down notes of his doings secretly (Kaḍachā kariyā pākhi ati saṅgopane/) because Chaitanyadev would not like that his companions should take notes of the incidents of his life. It is known as Kaḍachā. Gobinda Dās was a blacksmith by caste. His diary elaborated the journey of Chaitanyadeva to Deccan and back to Puri. We do not find Gobinda Dāsa as a servant of Śrīchaitanya in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* or in *Chaitanyabhāgavata*. Only *Chaitanyamaṅgal* of Jayānanda mentioned his name.

> Mukundadatta baidya Gobinda Karmakār /
> Mor sange aisaha Katowā Gaṅgāpār //

So we can believe that Karmakār was contemporary of Śrīchaitanyadeva.

Gupta Dās

Gupta Dās was the disciple of Abhirām Thākur who was also a follower of Nityānanda. In the '*Padakalpataru*, *Pada* 2319 and in the *Kshanandāgītachintāmani*, *Pada* 24' we can see two *padas* respectively, collected under his name. More information is not available.

Gopīkānta Basu

Though we do not get more information about Gopīkānta Basu yet he is one of the *Padakartās* whose one *pada* of love is collected in '*Krişṇapadāmritasindhu*'. He is not related to Rāmānanda Basu. In *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we find that Gopīkānta Basu was named as the followers of Śrīchaitanya. The *pada* which we find reveals *bātsalyarasa.*

Gopīraman

There were two persons in the name of Gopīraman—the first one is Gopīraman Vaidya, the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. The another one was the disciple of Hridayachaitanya. Vaiṣṇavadās and also poet Udbhavadās have mentioned their names.

> Jai jai Gopīraman rasāyan ujjwala murati nitānta /
> Śrī Gopīraman nāma bhagabān Gokulaswan /
> —Padakalpataru, Pada 18 and 3012.

Goswāmīdās

We have been provided with the reference to Goswāmīdās in '*Premavilās, Narottamavilās*'. Goswāmīdās was the disciple of Narottama Thākur. In the History of Brajabuli Literature, Dr. Sen has quoted one *pada* from hand-written copy. No more information is available with us.

Gourānga Dās

There are four persons in the name of Gourāngadās of whom references are available. The first and second Gourāngadās are the disciples of Narottama Ṭhākur whose references can be seen in *Narottamavilās.*

> Jaya-Śrī Gourāngadasa bayana ṭhākur /
> jāhār mridangabādya tāpa yāya dur //

In the same works we also find the existence of second Gourāngadās.

> Jaya Śrīgourāngadāsa Vairāgi prabiṇa[120] /

So we can easily say that the first was a singer and the second was a sage. The third Gourāngadās is the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya as described in the *Premavilāsa.* We have also a reference to fourth Gourāngadās who also attended the conference of Kheturi alongwith Jāhnabī Ṭhākurāni.[121] Among these four some on is a great poet.

Gourīdās Paṇḍit

There were two persons in the name of Gourīdās. There are two padas collected in the '*Padakalpataru*'. In the old records references have been provided for two Gourīdās.

He was the most famous devotees of and contemporary of Śrīchaitanyadev. He could not leave Nityānanda and Śrīchaitanyadev for home. In the '*Advaitaprakās*' we can see that once his friends prayed to Chaitanyadev that Gourīdās should go home and marry. Hearing this Gourīdās was sorry. Then Nityānanda installed a portrait of Chaitanyadev and ordered him to stay at Ambikā Kalnā, his native village. His father was Kaṅsārī Miśra. One stanza will testify the relation between Gourīdās and Chaitanyadev.

Mahāprabhur antaranga-bhakta Gourīdās /
Jabe Gour-sange Kaila kīrtana bilās //
Gour-Netāi sanga binu ghare nāhi raya /
Tār bandhugana mahāprabhure kahaya //
Ei bālakere ājñā kara daragnahe /
Sabhār-ānanda jadi thāke nijagrihe //
—History of Brajabuli Lit., p. 398.

Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj also mentioned the name of Gourīdās.

Gourīdās Kīrtanīyā

This Gourīdās was contemporary of Nityānanda and devotee of Śrīchaitanya-dev. In the *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* we can find the reference to him.

Gourīdās kīrtaniyār keshete dhariyā /
Nityānanda stava karāila nijasaktidiyā //
—Padakalpataru, Pariśista, p. 84.

Besides, this we can also find one pada referred to Nityānanda in which the name of Gourīdās is mentioned.

Pahumor Nityānanda Rāya /
Gourīdās hāsi hāsi, mājār nikale basi hatera
mahimā kichhu śuni //
—Padakalpataru, Pada 2313.

Both of them were devotee of Śrīchaitanyadev as well as poet but works regarding Nityānanda was composed only by Gourīdās Kīrtanīyā.

Haricharan Dās

Haricharan Dās was the disciple of Adwaita Āchārya. He wrote *Adwaita Maṅgal* with permission of Achyutānanda[122], son of Adwaita. In the *Adwaitamaṅgal*, he has described the activities of Adwaita Āchārya during his boyhood. Having been heard the news of boyhood from Bijoy Puri, maternal uncle of Adwaita he described the fact in *Adwaitamaṅgal*. The title of the book indicates that it is a biographical works.

Sabhār agrete Puri kahite lāgilā /
Sylletta desete haya nabagrām nāma //

Ekānta karia śuna sabe mana diyā /
Adwaita janma ebe kahi bibariyā //

'*Adwaitamangal*' could not be finished during the life time of Āchārya because the poet referred to only Kavikarṇapur as a biographer of Chaitanyadeva. He did not give name of others. So it is easy to apprehend that the poet worked after Kavikarṇapur, Bṛndāvandās and Kṛṣṇadās.

Śrīchaitanyalīlā barnilā Kavikarnapur /
Tāhe Nityānanda līlā rasera prachura //
Adwaita prabhur ādi antya līlā kichhu /
barṇan kariba sarba kari āgupichhu //

—History of Bengali Literature, p. 274.

Harirāmdās

There was a man in the name of Harirām Āchārya who was also disciple of Rāmachandra Kavirāj. This fact is supported in the *Bhaktiratnākar*. *Premavilās* also describes his caste and native village. *Narottamvilās* tells the story of his initiation.

Īśānnāgar

Life of Īśāna was full of sorrow. When he was five years old his father died. His mother took shelter of Adwaita Āchārya and initiated herself to Vaiṣṇava. Īśāna brought up and was educated along with Achyutānanda, son of Adwaita. Adwaita could not tolerate separation of Śrīchaitanya and so he advised Īśāna to spread the name of Śrīchaitanya in syllet. After the death of Adwaita, his wife Sītā Debī married Īśāna and asked him to write the biography of Adwaita. Īśāna wrote *Adwaita Prakāsa* and it is said that the work was completed by 1568 A.D. The exact date of birth and death of Īśāna is unknown yet he was contemporary of Adwaita.

Īśānāchārya

Īśānāchārya was brāhmiṇ of Brindāban. He came to Mathura from Brindāban with Śrīrūpa Goswāmī to see Gopāl. Krishnadās Kavirāj has mentioned the names of companions those accompanied Śrī Rūpa. He was described as Mounamanjuribraja in *Gouraganoddesadīpikā* of Kavikarnapur.

Īśwara Purī

Scholars said that Īśwara Purī was the disciple of Mādhavendra Purī. However, he established a temple of worship at Purī. He was born at Kumarhatta (Halisahar) in the district of Nadia. There is a well in Markandeswar sahi of Puri district which is named after Īśwar Purī. In almost all of the biographies we can see his references. Sloka Nos. 18, 62 and 75 of *Padyāvali* are his composition. Though the book '*Krishnalīlāmrita*' is not available yet scholars believe that it is his composition.

Jadu Kabichandra

The name Jadu Kabichandra has some peculiarity. He was mentioned as the disciple of Nityānanda. He was son of Ratnagarbha Āchārya, Brāhmiṇ, living at Syllet and then at Nabadwip. He was a very favourite of Nityānanda. In the *Padakalpataru* there are 14 *padas* collected under the name of Jadu.

Jadunandan Dās

During the period under review, we find two Vaiṣṇava Poets in the name of Jadunandan. The first one was Jadunandan Dās and the other Jadunandan Chakraverty.

Jadunandan Dās was born in 1537 A.D. and wrote an historical work called *Karṇānanda* in 1607 A.D. at the house of Śrīmati Hemalatā, daughter of Śrīnivās Āchārya. When he was 70 years old he wrote this work. Besides, Jadunandan Dās also translated into Bengali *Gobindalīlāmrita* of Kriṣṇadās Kavirāj and *Vidagdha Mādhava*, a drama of Rūpa Goswāmī into Bengali. Jadunandan Dās was an inhabitant of Mālihāti and Vaidya by caste. He also translated *Kṛṣṇakarnamrita* of Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj.

Jadunandan Chakraverty was an inhabitant of Katwa in the Burdwan and was disciple of Gadādhar Dās. His dates of birth and death are not known. He convened a conference of Vaiṣṇavas in the year 1583-84 is referred to in the *Bhaktiratnākar*.[123] He wrote *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-Līlā Kadamba*, an anthology of poetry containing 6000 couplets written in Bengali. He was a singer as referred to in the *Bhaktiratnākar*.

In the *Padakalpataru* we can find *padas* under the name of Jadunandan, Jadu and Jadunāth. It is confusing who is the real author of a particular poem. It is in the *Karṇāmrita* that the name of Jadunandan is known as Jadunāth.

Jagannāth Dās

We can see in the Vaiṣṇava Literature the name of Jagannāth Dās who was an associate of Śrīchaitanya. *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*[124] refers to a name of Jagannāth Dās who was disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. The *padas* of Jagannāth Dās describes the family life of Chaitanyadev so it can be easily presumed that he was a contemporary of Śrīchaitanyadev.

We are also aware of the presence of another Jagannāth Dās, who was one of the five associates of Śrīchaitanyadev. He was an inhabitant of Orissa. We have described his activities in the previous chapter. In the *Gourapadatarangini*[125] we can find his reference.

Jasorāj Khān

Jasorāj Khān was one of the eldest poets who wrote in Brajabuli. In the work *Rasamanjari* by Pitāmbar Dās we find there one *pada* of Jasoraj Khān. The *pada* indicates news of Husain Shāh who ruled Bengal from 1493 to 1519 A.D. So Jaśoraj Khān might have lived during that period. Ramgopal Das in his *Rasakalpavalli* has described Jasorāj Khān.[126] His date of birth and death is not known.

Jayachandra Das

During the period under review we have no genuine information, except one *pada* which is fouud in an unpublished work "Aprakasita Pada-Ratnabali". Dr. S. Sen in this regard opines that there was no one in the name of Jaychandra Dās rather Jaykrishna Dās and Jaychandra Dās are one and the same person. At the time of writing Jaykrishna became Jaychandra.

Jayakrishna Dās

We find his name in *Karṇananda* as Jaykrishna Āchārya, son and grandson of Śrī Dās and Haridās of Kanchan Gharia. He was a disciple of Rāmchandra Kavirāj as it is indicated in the *Karṇananda* but *Narottambilās* tells us that he was disciple of Narottam Ṭhākur. So he was contemporary of Rāmchandra Kavirāj and Narottam Ṭhākur. Dr. Sen in his immortal work "History of Brajabuli Literature"[127] remarks that eleven *padas* have been collected in one handwritten book. Besides we have three *padas* written in Bengali in *Kriṣṇapadāmrita Sindhu* and one *pada* in *Kalpalatikā*. Most of the *padas* are related to message sent by Subala.

Jānaki Dās

Little is known regarding Jānakī Dās. On the basis of the information received so far we can say that he was a disciple of Narottam Dās and also contemporary of him. We can find only two padas of him one in Aprakasita Pada Ratnabali and one in History of Brajabuli Literature. He is also referred to in *Premabilās*[128] and in *Narottamabilās*.

Jānakīvallava

Jānakīvallava was not so important and popular. In the *Premavilās* we are able to see a name of Jānakivallava Choudhuri who was named as the disciple of Narottama Das. Narahari Chakraverty in his book *Narottamavilās* addressed him as Jānakīvallava Ṭhākur. From this we can presume that he was a Brāhmin. In the *Aprakasitapadaratnabali* only one *pada* under the name of Jānakīvallava is collected. But in the hand written work preserved under the custody of Sajanikānta Dās[129] reveals the presence of Dwija Janakī or Dās Jānakī of whom we have three padas in the same book. From the cronicles of Kheturi Festival we can see that one Dwija Jānaki was present. In the geneology of Śrīnivās one Dās Jānakī is also mentioned. Dr. Sen is of the opinion that both of them is one and same person.

Jñānadās

He was one of the greatest of all Vaiṣṇava Poets of 16th Century. He was born in 1530 A.D. at Kandra in the district of Birbhum. We have many references to in various books. Ramani Mohan Mallik collected and compiled *Jñānadās Padāvalī*. In the *Padakalpataru* and in *Aprakāsita Pada Ratnāvālī* we can see 186 and 56 *padas* of Jñānadās respectively. In his native village till now a conference of Vaiṣṇavas is held every year in the memory of Jñānadās. Jñānadās imitated the style of Chaṇḍīdās and wrote his poems both in Bengali and in Brajabuli. *Bhaktiratnākar* refers to as

> rādhadese kāndaḍā nāmete grāma haya /
> tathāya maṅgal jñānadāsera ālaya //
> —Gourpadatarangini, Introductory page 96.

Jñānadās was a Brāhmiṇ. He was initiated by Jāhnavī Devī wife of Nityānanda but *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* tells us that he was reconed as the disciple of Nityānanda.[180] According to *Narottambilās* the information of his presence at Katwa and Kheturi Festival is different from that of *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita*.

Jayānanda

Jayānanda was the son of Subudhi Miśra and Rodani Debī. His father, Subudhi Miśra was also a devotee of Śrīchaitanya. We can see one person in the name of Subudhi Miśra who was a student in the tol of Śrīchaitanya. The father of Jayānanda and the person referred to in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishṇadās Kavirāj might be one person. However, the description given by Jayānanda in *Chaitanyamaṅgal* is sufficient for his identification. It is stated in his book that when Śrīchaitanya was coming back from Puri, he took rest in the house of Subudhi Miśra. The master named the boy Guiyā as Jayānanda was then of one year old.

Kavikanṭhahār

There is a lot of confusion regarding the presence of this poet during the period under review. Yet we have little information in order to establish his presence. In the *Kshanadāgītachintāmani* we have one stanza (*pada*) and in *Kīrtanānanda* we have two stanzas under his name. In the anthology of Vidyāpati, Nagendranāth collected three stanzas under his name.[181] Generally it is known that Kavikanṭhahār was the title of Vidyāpati yet according to handwritten manuscript available in the Dacca University indicates that there was a Bengali *pada* in the name of Kavikanṭhahār.[182] So we can easily say that there was poet other than Vidyāpati. It is also a known fact that there was disciple of Raghunāthdās in the name of Kavikanṭhahār at Śrīkhanda.

Kavikarṇapur

Kavikarṇapur was a pseudonym. The real name of Kavikarṇapur is

Paramānanda Dās Sen, son of Śibānanda Sen, Baidya by caste, resident of Kāñchanapallī (Kāñchrāpāḍā). He was a disciple of Śrīnāth.

He was a renowned scholar and writer. He had many books like *Āryasataka, Alamkār Koustava, Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita Mahākāvya, Śrīchaitanyachandrodaya Nātakam, Gouraganoddesadīpikā* and *Ānandabrindāban Champu.* Śrī Rūpa Goswāmī in *Padyābali* collected a poem (No. 305) from a unpublished book of Kavikarṇapur.

Kaviranjan

We are told that Kaviranjan was also known by his title Vidyāpati but Vidyāpati was really a Maithili poet. In *Padakalpataru* we can find some poems written in Bengali, collected under the name Vidyāpati. It is believed till today that some Bengali poets used to compose poems in the name of Vidyāpati but this is not a fact. Above all it is stated that there is every possibility of being a Bengali poet in the name of Vidyāpati. In this regard, Dr. Harekṛṣṇa Mukhopādhyāya after great endeavour, proved the fact that in *Rasakalpavallī* and *Śākhānirnaya* of Rāmgopal Dās the presence of one Kavirajan disciple of Raghunandan of Śrīkhanda, is available. Kaviranjan himself was living at Śrīkhanda a great poet of the period and composed *padas* under the shadow of Vidyāpati. He sometimes was known as Vidyāpati Jr. In *Rasakalpavallī* we have a series of *padas* of which one pada is referred to Raghunandan.

However, it indicates that he was disciple of Raghunandan and attended the conference of Kheturi with Raghunandan. The time of his birth and death is unknown.

Kabiratna

In the *Śākhānirnaya* of Rāmgopāl Dās his name is described as Miśra Kaviratna and he was a great devotee of Śrīkrishna. He had many disciples and grand disciples. He was a disciple of Narahari Sarkār Ṭhākur. The title Miśra indicates that he was a Brāhmiṇ. Scholars are of opinion that poems numbers **40**, 41, 77 and 78 of *Padyābali* are his composition.

Kaviśekhar

There are many persons who used Śekhar in the beginning of their names or at the end. The real name of Kaviśekhar is Devakīnandan Singha. It is very hard to say that he is different from Rāy Śekhar or both of the poets are the same person. The *padas* under the name of Kaviśekhar, Śekhar, Rāy Śekhar (Śekhar Rāy) might have been the compositions of Kaviśekhar or Rāy Śekhar. In the *Gopālachampu* the poet Kaviśekhar introduced his own self as follows :

Singhabanse janma nām Debakinandan /
Śrīkabiśekhar rāya bale sarbajan //

bāpa chaturbhuja nām mā hīrābatī /
krishṇa jār praṇa dhan kula śīl jāti //
—Bāṅglā Sāhityer Itihās, p. 214.

He wrote a number of books. He was well conversant in Sanskrit also. His works *Gopālacharita* an epic, and *Goponāthavijaya*, a drama, are extraordinary contribution. In Bengali he wrote *Gopalīlā Kirtanananda* and Pāñchālī Kāvya—*Gopālavijaya*. In one of the stanza we can see his account of his writing :

Tabe mahākavya kaila Gopālacharita /
Tabe kaila gopālera kīrtan amrita //
Gopīnāth Vijay nātak kaila ār /
Tabhu gopabeshi man nā pure āmār //
Tabe se pāñchāli kari gopāla bijaye /
Vaishṇava charan renu kariyā hridaye //
—Bāṅglā Sāhityer Itihās, p. 214,

In the beginning of the *Gopāla Vijay kāvya* we have seen a Sanskrit stanza which justifies authorship of Kaviśekhar. The stanza stands as follows :

Likhati Śrīkaviśekhar enang /
Pratipadasamayang padasamupetam //
Nirabadhi madhura prabrita resakaling /
Śrīgopala Vijay pāñchālim //
—Bāṅglā Sāhityer Itihās, p. 215.

Dr. S. Sen believes that Kaviśekhar and Rāyśekhar are one and same poet.

Kāmadevadās

We have found two persons in the name of Kāmadevadās. 1. The first one was the disciple of Adwaita Āchārya, companion of Achyutānanda, son of Adwaita Āchārya. He was a Brāhmiṇ and resident of Khardaha and also known as Kāmadeva Chaitanyadās. One pada of him is found in *Padakalpataru*. We can find the references of first Kāmadevadās in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*. He also attended the conference of Kheturi. The second one was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya as referred to in the *Karṇānanda*. We can see his poems in the *Padakalpalatikā* and *Kṛṣṇapadāmṛtasindhu*.

Kānu Ṭhākur

The title 'Ṭhākur' does not indicate that he was a Brāhmiṇ. He was Baidya by caste and a disciple of Nityānanda. He was a resident of Bodhakhana. In the *Padakalpataru* we have seen 6 *padas* of Kānudās. Some scholars say that these *padas* are composed by Kānu Ṭhākur. In the pada number 2321 of same book the author is addressing his guru (Nityānanda) as the God of his family.

Kānurām Dās

There were two persons in the name of Kānurāmdās. It is very hard to say who was the poet, who was not or both of them poets. However, we will try to depict two on the basis of the sources available so far. Kānurām Dās—son of Purusottam Dās, grandson of Sadāśiva Kavirāj, disciple of Jāhnabī Debī, wife of Nityānanda. *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* states some information. He attended the Kheturi Festival. Apart from this information we do not find any more. There are 7 *padas* collected in the *Padakalpataru*.

Śrī Sadāśiva Kavirāja baḍa mahāśaya /
Śrī Purusottama Dās tāhāra tanaya //
Tār putra mahāśaya Śrī Kānhu Ṭhākur /
Jār dehe rahe Krishna Premāmrita sur //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., 1-11-62.

The name of second Kānurām Dās found in the list of disciples of Adwaita. *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* states as such.

Anantadās Kānupaṇḍit dās Nārāyaṇ /
—Śrī Ch. Ch., 1-12-64.

This Kānurām attended the Conference of Kheturi, his date of birth and death is unknown. In the *Padakalpataru* there are 13 *padas* of poems under the name of Kānurām. We are not aware of informations more than these.

Kishore Dās

The two names are not of one persons. These two names indicate two individual. But '*Premavilās*'[133] tries to justify these two persons as one and suggested that he was disciple of Śyāmānanda. So it is presumed that these names are applied to one person. Though his date of birth is still unknown yet, he had joined the Kheturi Festival. Two poems of him can be traced in the unpublished '*Padāratnābalī*' and '*Kṛṣṇapadāmṛtasindhu*'. *Bhaktiratnākar* also admits his presence.

Kumudānanda

Kumudānanda is only found in *Karṇānanda* who was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. There is one pada of Kumudānanda in the Saṅkīrtanāmrita. No more information is available.

Kṛṣṇadās

Kṛṣṇadās was the son of Jādabānanda and Padmāvatī and worshipper-follower of Mādhava Āchārya. He was the author of *Śrīkṛṣṇamaṅgal*. He was living on the west side of the Ganges. He once mentioned his Guru but never wrote real name. So we cannot find out his real name. He told :

Āmār prabhu Śrīmati Īśwarī /
Dikshā mantra dilā prabhu mor karṇe dhari //
—Śrī Kṛṣṇamaṅgal, p. 384.

Who is this Īśwarī ? It is said that all the Vaiṣṇavas of the period regarded Jāhnavī Devī, wife of Nityānanda, as Īśwarī. It seems that preceptor of Kṛṣṇadās was Jāhnavī Devī.

Kṛṣṇakānta

In the introductory chapter of *Gourpadatarangini* we find the name of Uddhaba Dās, it is stated that the real name of Uddhava Dās was Kṛṣṇakānta Majumdār. There is no other information of another Kṛṣṇakānta in the Vaiṣṇava Literature of the period. Jagadbandhu Bhadra provides information of another Kṛṣṇakānta who was prominent during the first part of 17th century A.D.

Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj

By far Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, son of Bhagirath, an inhabitant of village Jhamatpur in Burdwan, born in 1517 A.D., the greatest of the biographers of Śrīchaitanyadeva. When Kṛṣṇadās was only six years old, his father died. He had a brother Shyām Dās, 2 years junior to him. His mother Sunandā could find no way to maintain herself and her two children. But an end come soon to her anxieties and cure. She died after a few months, she became widow. Then the poor children were placed in charge of his relatives. He was from his childhood sober and quiet. Once, a follower of saint Nityānanda, Mīnaketan Rāmdās, by name, paid a visit to Jhamatpur at that time. His preaching produced a great effect upon Kṛṣṇa Dās who yearned for the religious life.

It is said that Nityānanda appeared to him in a dream and advised him to go to Brindāvan. He could not resist the command. He walked 800 miles on foot and arrived Brindāvan where he got real force of becoming a devotee of Vaiṣṇava under the influence of distinguished Goswāmīs.

Within a few years, he became a profound Sanskrit scholar and had written two works of great merit in Sanskrit. His *Gobindalīlāmrita* is a masterpiece of poetry, and his annotations of *Kṛṣṇakarṇāmrita* signifies his great erudition. He wrote some small books in Bengali, namely, *Adwaita-Sutra-Karachā*, *Swarupa-Varṇanā* and *Rāgamayīkanā*. The *Chaitanyabhāgavata* or Bṛndāvan Dās used to be read in Vṛndāvan by the pious every evening and they felt that best part of Chaitanya's life was not described in that work. So they requested Kṛṣṇadās to write a complete biography of Chaitanyadeva. So *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* came into existence. It is a manument of industry and scholarship and of the devotional features that characterise Vaiṣṇavism.[184] *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* contains 15050 ślokas or "couplets" and is divided into three main Khandas or Cantos—the Ādi, the Madhya and the Antya Khanda.

Some authors are of opinion that he was born in 1496 A.D. died 1598 A.D. He began to write *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* before 1581 and completed in 1581 A.D. He, in this work, has referred other follower-Vaiṣṇavas.

Laksmīkānta Dās

Padakalpataru of Gokulānanda Sen alias Vaiṣṇava Dās shows one pada and *Gourapadatarangini* depicts another *sloka* of Laksmīkānta Dās. These two *padas* are about Śrīchaitanya. We also know from the *Śākhānirnaya* where Rāmgopāl Dās has mentioned the name of Laksmīkānta Dās who was a disciple of Narahari Sarkār. In the *Śākhānirnaya*, the description stands as follows :

Lakshmīkānta nāma śākhā thākura pujārī /
Tāhār bikhyāta kathā āchhe dui chāri //

This stanza indicates that Laksmīkānta was the disciple of Narahari Sarkār.[135] It also depicts the philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism particularly of Navadwipa (Nadiā-Nāgarī-Bhāva) as a special standard of the branch founded by Narahari Sarkār.

Lochan Dās

Lochan Dās was the author of *Śrīchaitanyamaṅgal*, a biography of Śrīchaitanyadeva. In the last part of this work he gave his self introduction. According to this introduction, he was born in 1523 A.D. at Kogram, a village 30 miles north of Burdwan and 10 miles from Guskhara. He was Vaidya by caste. His father's name was Kamalākar Dās. Narahari Dās of Śrīkhanda, one of the most noted followers and friends of Śrīchaitanya, was the religious preceptor of Lochan Dās. *Chaitanyamaṅgal* a good poem though not good biography. The Vaiṣṇavas love the work because Lochan was a fine poet, his work is more a creation of fancy than a historically accredited account of Chaitanya's life. Lochan died in 1589 A.D. at the age of 66. Besides, *Chaitanyamaṅgal* he had written a Bengali work named *Durlabhasār* and composed a number of very elegant songs.[136] Sometimes he called himself as Śrīlochana and Trilochan. *Chaitanyamaṅgal* was written during 1537 A.D.

Lokanāth Dās

Lokanāth Dās was the author of the biographical works of Sītā Devī, the wife of Adwaita Āchārya. He named the work *Sītā-guṇa-kadamba*. He mentioned that he was a disciple of Mādhaba Āchārya, resident of Viṣṇupur, near Phulia. He began to write the work in 1443 saka or in 1521-22 A.D. We do not find any more information regarding Lakanāth Dās.

Manohar Dās

There were two poets in this name during the period. The first one as *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* describes was alluded to Nityānanda's group of followers, who also attended in the Mahotsava held at Kheturi. We can subtantiate this news from *Narottamavilās*.[187]

The second was Bābā-Āul Manohar Dās who also belonged to the group of Naityānanda. We can see the reference to him in the *Premavilāsa* where he was marked as the disciple of Jāhnavī Devīand also named Chaitanya Dās. During the first part of his life he was known as Chaitanya Dās found in *Saravali*. In the *Premavilāsa* we have dialogue of Manohar Dās.

Viṣṇupur mor ghar hay bāra krosh /
Rājār deshe bas kari haiyā santosh //

However, on the basis of the above information we may come to decide that Manohar Dās was the Librarian of King Bīra Hāmbīra. He took asceticism before 1571 A.D. After the death of the king Hāmbīr he began to travel and live for sometimes at Badangary of Hooghly district. It is said that he went Brindāvan in 1638 but he died at Jaypur on the way. He wrote a number of books like *Dinamani Chandrodaya*. He collected '*Padasamudra*' and *Niryastatta*. Among these two who was the real *padakartā* it is very hard to say. It is also, stated that *padas* which we find in the '*Padasamudra*' were composed by second Manohar. There are six *padas* of second Manohar in the '*Padakalpataru*'. There are 6 padas of Manohar Dās.[138]

Mathurā Dās

In old records, we find there were three Mathurā Dās. The first and the second were the followers as well as disciples of Śrīnivās Āchārya. Their references can be obtained from the 20th *Vilās* of *Premavilās* and first *Nirjās* of *Karṇānanda* respectively. The third one was the disciple of Narottama. His introduction also can be had from the 20th *Vilās* of *Premavilās* of *Narottamavilās*. We have one *pada* in the *Padakalpataru* and *Kīrtanānanda*. It seems to be composition of any of these Mathurā Dās. Besides, we do not find any more information of these poets.

Mādhava Dās

Mādhava Dās or Mādhavāchārya was the cousin brother of Viṣṇupriyā. His exact date of birth is not known. He was contemporary of *Śrīchaitanyadev* and attended the Kheturi conference. The name of his father and mother was Sanātan Miśra and Bidhumukhi. In the *Premaviiāsa*, we can see elaborate description of him. He also was described as singer. In the *Padakalpataru* only 5 *padas* have been collected.

Śrīmadbhāgavater Śrīdasamaskandha /
gīta barṇanāte tihon kari nānā chhanda //

rākhilā granther nāma Śrīkrishnamaṅgal /
Śrīkrishna Chaitanya pada samarpaṇa kaila //
—Śrī Gopipadatarangini, Introduction. p. 145.

Mādhavī Dās

Some scholars thought Mādhavī Dās was the sister of Shikhi Mahity, an Oriya devotee of Śrīchaitanyadev. But Dr. S Sen and Satischandra Rāy did not support this view because there are no padas written in Oriya under the name of Mādhavī Dās. They do not find any sign of Oriya language in the padas received so far. She came in the forefront after the passing away of Śrīchaitanyadev as it is known from the *pada* number 2240 collected in *Padakalpataru.* We do not get any exact date of birth and death.

Ye dekhaye gorā mukha sei preme bhāse /
Mādhabī banchita haila nija karma dose //

Madhaba Ghosh

He was the brother of Gobinda Ghosh most favourite devotee and contemporary of Śrīchaitanya. The date of his birth and death is not known. There are references to *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, Chaitanyabhāgavat.* These brothers composed *padas.* They were originally inhabitants of Kumarhatta, but later on settled at Navadwipa. He belonged to the Kayastha caste. In the Vaiṣṇava Literature there are three *padakartas* in the name of Mādha, Mādhava Ghosh and Mādho. But Mādhava Ghosh was brother of Bāsudev Ghosh and Govinda Ghosh.

There are references to *Chaitanyacharitāmrita, Chaitanyabhāgavata* and *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* regarding Mādhava Ghosh. We get only 55 *padas* composed by Mādhava Ghosh. In the *Gourapadatarangini* and in *Padakalpataru* there are 4 and 7 *padas* found in the name of Mādhava Ghosh.[139]

Mādhabānanda

Mādhabānanda was the disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He had written *Krishnamaṅgal* in Bengali and *Premaratnākar* in Sanskrit with his substantiated in all *Vaiṣṇavabandanās* of Śrījiva Goswāmī, Debakinandan and Brindāban Das II.

Mohan Dās

Though we had have no information regarding the date of birth in our hand yet Mohan Das was disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya and friend of Gobindadās Kavirāj. It is supported by a *pada* written by Mohan Dās. Reference to him is also found in the *Karnānanda.*

Śrī Mohan Dās janma Baidyakule /
naitik bhajana jānr ati niramale //
—Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p. 154.

Thirty *padas* of Mohan Dās have been collected in the *Padakalpataru.*

Murārī Gupta

Murārī Gupta born at Syllet, but his relative came Nabadwip and lived there. He was a neighbour of and a bit older to Śrīchaitanyadev. Both Śrīchaitanya and Murārī were disciples of the same Guru. He was most favourite and devotee of Śrīchaitanya. He described excellently the first part of Chaitanya's life in his Kaḍachā. In the *Vaisṇavabandanā,* Murārī was named as the incarnation of Hanumān.

bandiba Murārīgupta bhakti-sakti manta /
Purba abatāre jār Hanumanta //
—Gourpadatarangini. Intro., p. 141.

Krisṇadās Kavirāj in his *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* described his good character elaborately.

Śrī Murārīgupta śākhā premera bhāndār /
prabhura hridaya drabe śuni dainya yānr //
pratigraha nā kare nā laya kāra dhana /
atmabritti kari kare kuṭumba bharana //
—Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10- 8.

So far his date of birth is concerned, we do not find any correct date. He was a renowned poet of the period. But Jagadbandhu Babu presumed that he was born in the year 1514 Saka era. He completed the Kaḍchā in the year 1513 A.D. which had have a historical value regarding the Chaitanya's early life.

Narahari Dās (*Sarkār*)

There are two followers in the name of Narahari. The one is Narahari Chakraverty and the other Narahari Sarkār. Chakraverty was born in the 17th century A.D., so we do not need his discussion. He was the author of *Bhaktiratnākar*. But Narahari Sarkār was contemporary and personal friend, direct disciple of Śrīchaitanyadev. Narahari first wrote poems regarding Gouranga *Līlā*. The following *pada* is one of the example of his writings :

Gouralīlādarsane-ichchhā baḍa hay mane /
bhāsāya likhiyā sab rākhi //
kichhu kichhu pada likhi yadi iha keha /
dikhi prakāsa karaye prabou līlā //
—Gourpadatarangini, p. 11-12.

We are told that Narahari Dās wrote *padas* of intense sorrow for not meeting with Gourānga. In his *padas,* he personified himself with Gopīs as they were unhappy for they could not get union with Kṛṣṇa. In the Kaḍachā of Govinda Dās we find such references when Śrīchaitanya Dev was away for south.

kakhana balen kothā prāṇa narhari /
hari nāma śuni tore ālingan kari //
—Gourpadatarangini, pp. 11-12.

His date of birth was 1478 A.D. and death in 1541. He was son of Nārāyaṇ Dev, who was a resident of Śrīkhanda in Burdwan District. He was a Vaidya by caste. Mukunda Dev, elder brother of Nārāyaṇ Dev, was the house-physician of the then Muslim Bādsāh.

Narottam Dās

Narottama Dās was the son of king Kṛṣṇānanda Datta and his mother's name was Nārāyaṇī. Kheturi was the capital of Kṛṣṇānanda. After the death of his father, Narottam giving his property to the son of his brother went Brindāban, but '*Narottamabilāsa*' tells us that he went to Brindāban before his father's death. Though we have no authentic proof of his time of birth yet Jagadbandhu Babu in the introduction of *Gourpadatarangini* remarked that Narottama born sometime in the middle part of 15th Century A.D. As per the information available so far we find that Narottama along with Śrīnivās and Shyāmānanda returned back from Brindāban to Bengal in 1582 A.D. and he organised a conference of eminent Vaiṣṇavas at Kheturi in 1583 A.D. We heard for the first time the *Garānhati* tuning of *Kīrtan* which had been introduced by Narottama. We can cite a pada in support of Narottama's originality.

Ethā sarbamahanta kahaye paraspare /
Prabhura adbhuta sṛsti Narottama dwāre //
Narottama Kaṇṭhadhwani amṛtara dhāra /
Ye piye tāhāra tṛṣṇā bāḍhe anibār //
—Narotambilās, Bilās-7.

In the '*Padakalpataru*' we get 64 *padas* of Narottama Dās.

Nayana Miśra

Nayana Miśra, according to Jadunāth, was a disciple of Gadādhar. He was Brāhmiṇ, inhabitant of Bharatapur in the district of Murshidabad, and nephew (brother's son) of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. He was a *padakartā*. No other information is found any where.

Nayanānanda

Nayanānanda was the son of Bānīnāth Miśra, brother of Gadādhar Paṇḍit. He was dearest devotee of Śrīchaitanyadev. We do not know his date of birth and death, yet he joined the Mahotsava of Kheturi. His presence seems to be in the year 1583 A.D. The number of *padas* of him collected in the *Padakalataru* is 25. His reference can be obtained from *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*, Ādilīlā, 12th Chapter :

> Ananta Āchārya Kabidatta Miśra Nayan /
> Gaṅgā mantrī-mānu thakur kanṭhābharan //

In a hand-written manuscript of '*Premavilās*' which is preserved by Rasiklal Bābājī at Navadwipa shows reference to him as noted below :

> Paṇḍita Gosāinr bhrātusputra Srinayanānanda /
> puspa gopāl, Gopāladās aar dhrubānanda //
> —Padakalpataru, Vol. 5.

All his *padas* relate to Gourānga. There is not a single *pada* regarding *Kṛṣṇalīlā*.

Nityānanda Dās

The real name of Nityānanda Dās was Balarām Dās. He was the disciple of Jahnabī Devī. Nityānanda was inseparably associated with Chaitanyadeva. Nityānanda was born at Ekchaka in 1473.[140] An account of Nityānanda is to be found in almost all the biographical works of the Vaiṣṇavas. His grand father's name was Sundara Malla, his father's name Hāḍāi Ojhā. He was the author of '*Premavilāsa*' which was completed in the year 1600 A.D. At the end of '*Premavilāsa*' Nityānanda gave his self-introduction elaborately. We can see also his family history from '*Chaitanyabhāgavata*', '*S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita*', '*Vaiṣṇavabandanā*', etc. There were other three Nityānanda who were also Vaiṣṇavas.

The first one was the youngest son of Baṅśībadana.

The second was 'Chatur-dhuriṇa. Nityānanda' grandfather of author of the '*Rasa Kalpavalli*'.[141]

The third one was the disciple of Prabhu Nityānanda.

However, we do not get any works of these persons. So the master (Prabhu) Nityānanda Dās was eminent *padakartā*. His date of birth is not known. He attended the conference of Kheturi. '*Bhaktiratnākar*' supports this view.

Nrisimha Dev

Information regarding Nrisimha Dev is not plenty yet modern scholars like Dr. Sukumar Sen[142] believe that he was a *padakartā* of the 16th century A.D. The total number of *padas* he wrote is four. Three of which are collected in *Padakalpataru* and one in '*Sankirtanamṛta*'. According to *Śrīgourpadatarangini* Babu Jagadbandhu Bhadra has described Nrisimha Dev as the follower of Nityānanda and his title was Kaviraja. There was another Nrisimhadev who was an inhabitant of Orissa.

Secondly, in the *Bhaktiratnākar* (10th taranga) there is a topic related to Kheturi Mahotsava. In this particular chapter we find that Śrīnivās Āchārya in order to attend the Kheturi festival, was a guest of Narottama Ṭhākur. In this chapter we have seen a list of names of *Bhaktas* which includes Nṛsimhadeva.

The lyric stands as follows :

Śrīnṛsimha Kavirāja Mahākabi yehon /
Yār bhrātā nārāyaṇa kavi śrestha tehon //
—Padakalpataru, Epilogue, p. 144.

The reference can also be found in *Premavilāsa.*

Narottamera Swagaṇa Narasimha mahāsaya /
duradise pakkapalli jāhāra rājya haya //

Besides these proofs, Govindadās Kavirāj also has mentioned his name.

Kamala lalita charaṇa kamala madhu pāoye soi sujāna /
rājā narasimharūpa nārāyaṇa gobindadāsa anumāna //

D. C. Sen said that "Narasimha Deva, Rājā of Pakvapalli, whose efforts to vanguish Narottama Ṭhākur in a controversial discussion culminated in a complete failure and his own acceptance of the creed of the Vaiṣṇavas. The Rājā wrote several *padas* of great beauty".

Then we can easily presume that Nṛsimhadev being a king was discipie of Narottama Ṭhākur and attended the Kheturi festival in 1513 A.D.

Paramānanda Dās

The real name of Paramānanda Dās was Paramānanda Sen, son of Śivānanda Sen of Kanchrapara in the district of 24 Paraganas. His father was a great devotee of Śrīchaitanya and as desired by Śrīchaitanya he happily gave his son's name Paramānanda Dās. He was of Vaidya family.

Paramānanda was born in 1524 A.D.[143] He was more commonly known by his title Kavikarṇapura. Yet Paramānanda Dās was also named by Purīdās as it is referred to in the '*Vaiṣṇavāchārdarpaṇa*'.

Guṇachūḍā sakhi han Kavikarṇapur /
Kanchrapāḍāya bāsa Chaitanyaśākhā śūra //
bṛddha padānguṣṭha prabhu yār mukhe dilā /
purīdāsa nāma bali śakti sañchārilā //

The title 'Kavikarṇapura' was awarded by Śrīchaitanyadev. When he was 7 years old he composed poems. It is supported by Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj.

āradina prabhu kahe paḍa purīdāsa /
eka śloka teho karilā prakāśa //
sāta batsarer śiśu nāhin adhyayana /
aichchhe śloka kare loke chamatkrita han //

He wrote two celebrated books (1) *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*, a Sanskrit Kāvya and (2) *Chaitanya-Chandrodaya Nāṭaka*, a drama in 1570 A.D. and 1572 A.D. respectively. He was one of the Vaiṣṇava delegates attended Kheturi Mahotsava. *Chaitanya Charitāmrita* describes as such.

Chaitanyadāsa Rāmadāsa ār Karṇapura /
tinputre śibānandera prabhura bhakta śūr. //

In the *Padakalpataru,* we have found 12 *padas* of Paramānanda Dāsa of which 2 *padas* are in *Brajabhāsa.*[144]

However, we are also aware of the fact that Kavikarṇapura has mentioned another Paramānanda who camposed poems regarding Kṛṣṇa.[145] In the *Padakalpataru* in his support we find 12 *padas* of which three show the idea of *Kṛṣṇalīlā.*[146] These *padas* might have been the compositions of Paramānanda Gupta. In the *Chaitanya-Maṅgal* of Jayānanda, it is said that Paramānanda wrote a *pada* on Śrīchaitanya Deva. It is also supported by *Chaitanyacharitāmrita.* The last line of *pada* 2906 in the *Padakalpataru* stands as follows :

Śrīrūpamanjari charaṇa hṛdaye dhari kahe Poocamanandadas /

This Rūpamanjari was the pseudoname of Rūpa Goswāmī. So it is obvious that the *Padakartā* praised Rūpa Goswāmī.

There is another Paramānanda Dās who was residing at Brindāban but he was hardly the author of this rhyme. It seems that Kavikarṇapur might have been the author of those 12 *padas* because of their similarity.

At the later period of his life Kavikarṇapur lived at Brindāban.

Parameśwar Dās

Though we are in dark regarding the date of birth and death of this poet. yet he was a disciple and comtemporary of Nityānanda and attended the Kheturi festival of Vaiṣṇavas. Jagadbandhu Bhadra said that Parameśwar Dās was born in 15th Century A,D. *Chaitanya-Bhāgabat* supports that he was disciple of Nityānanda. In the *Padakalpataru,* there is one *pada.*

Purandar Paṇḍit Parameśwar Dās /
Yāhāra bigrahe Goura chandrera prakāś //
Kṛṣṇadāspaṇḍita Parameśwaradās /
Purandar paṇḍitera parama ullās //

—Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p. 107.

Prasād Dās

There are many opinions regarding the presence of Prasād Dās. *Narottamabilas* refers to Prasād Dās, a Vairāgi, was disciple of Narottama Ṭhākur.

Secondly, *Karṇānanda* and *Premabilās* shows that Prasād Dās, son of Karunākar Majumdār was disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. Thirdly in *Rasikamaṅgala* we find Prasāda Dās as a member of the family of Shyāmānanda.

Despite of these opinions, Prasāda Dās was the disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. *Padakalpataru,* the encyclopaedia of Vaiṣṇava lyrics shows 6 *padas* of which one related to Nityānanda, another to Kṛṣṇa and the remaining to Gourānga.

We do not find any exact date of birth and death of him. He was contemporary to Śrīnivāsa Āchārya.

Purusottama Dās

Purusottama Dās was the son of Sadāśiva Kavirāja who was living at Halisahar in the district of 24 Paraganas. Purusottama was Vaidya by caste, disciple and contemporary of Nityānanda Mahāprabhu. We do not find any authentic information of his birth and death. Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, in his *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmṛita,* wrote that

> Sadāśiva Kavirāja baḍa mahāśaya /
> Śrīpurusottamadāsa tāhāra tanaya //
> ājanma nimagna Nityānanderacharaṇe /
> nirantara bālya līlā hare Kṛṣṇasane //
> —Śrī Ch. Ch., 1/11/2, p, 62.

The poet was found of describing sorrow in his *padas* rather than pathos. In the *Padakalataru* we have seen 12 lyrics of him. Though *Chaitanyacharitamṛita* shows the presence of three more Purusottamadās yet the greatness of him as poet is beyond doubt because *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* tells us his presence.

Raghunāth Dās

We have been informed about the presence of two Raghunāth Dās. The first Raghunāth Dās Goswāmī who was one of the famous six Goswāmīs of Brindāban, son of Gobardhan, king of Saptagram (Satgaon). During youth, he left home and took shelter under Śrīchaitanyadev at Nilachala. So far as his date of birth is concerned we have got two kinds of information—1. Jagadbandhu Bhadra told that he took birth in the Saka year 1428 (1507 A.D.) but 2. according to *Tattanidhi* he was born in Saka 1420 (1499 A.D.). He died in Saka 1504 (1583 A.D.). He was an erudite scholar in Sanskrit. He wrote '*Stabābali, Bilāpakusumanjali, Dānacharita* and *Muktacharita*' in Sanskrit. We can see three *padas* in '*Padakalpataru*' of which two were composed in *Brajabuli* and one in *Brajabhāsā.* Of the twos written in *Brajabuli* one dedicated to Jayadeva and the other related to description of Rādhā. In *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmṛita* also we can see his reference.

The second Raghunāth Dās was a disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. His date of birth and death is not known. We have references regarding Raghunāth Dās in '*Premabilāsa*'[147] and '*Brīhad-bhakti-tatwa-sara*' a hand written manuscript preserved in Bangiya Sāhitya Parisad in which we can find a salutation to Jīva Goswāmī. The lyrics cited in the footnote were written by second Raghunāth Dās because it is not qualitatively as good as that of first Raghunāth.

Rasika Dās

Rasika Dās was famous as Rasikānanda son of Rājā Achyutānanda and Mālati, a Zamindār, resident of Rayani village at Dalabhumi. Rasika Dās was born in 1519 A.D.[148] In the '*Padakalpataru*' there is one pada of him written in Bengali under the name of Rasikānanda. There is one '*Brajabuli Pada*' in the '*Padakalpataru*' under the name of Rasika Dās. In the '*Gourpadatarangini*' there are three Bengali *padas* under the name of 'Rasika', 'Rasikānanda', 'Rasik-ananda'.

So far as poetic beauty and reality of the fact concealed in the two padas collected in the *Gourpadatarangini* is concerned, Dr. S. Sen, is of the view that those *padas* are composition of a person who himself saw the ascetic ceremony of Chaitanya or is heard from a person who was present at that time of the incident. On this basis it is said that Rasika Dās was a 16th century poet, disciple of Shyāmānanda, a contemporary of Śrīnīvās Āchārya. He was one of the greatest disciples of Shyāmānanda and took a zealous interest in the propagation of Vaiṣṇava cult in Orissa. He attended the Conference held at Kheturi.

There is another Rasika, known in the name of Rasika Dās who was disciple of Śrīnivās as it is stated in the *Premabilās*[149] and *Karṇānanda*.

Rasikānanda

We have references in the *Narottamabilās* (Bilās 4) a disciple of Shyāmānanda Purī, in the name of Rasikānanda, who was present during the later period of 16th Century. Only one *pada* of him is found in the *Premabilās*. Beside this it is learnt that that he wrote two independent books, '*Ratibilās*' and '*Shākhābarṇan*'.

Rādhā Dās

Rādhā Dās was not so important poet, we have little proof of certainty of the poet's living. We can find only one pada in *Rosamanjari* by Pītāmbar Dās. Dr. Sukumar Sen in his *History of Brajabuli Literature*[150] opines that in an old hand-written manuscript there was reference to Rādhā Dās and his 27 *padas* of which 18 *padas* collected in the chapter of '*Rasapanchadhyāya*'. These 18 *padas* are also found in '*Astādashapadābali*'. It is stated that the time of composition of '*Astādashapadābali*'[151] is 1708 A.D. But it is doubtful who is this Rādhā Dās. The last line of '*Astādashapadābali*' indicates the name 'Rādhāballava Dās'.

Madhukar Kokila-rati Yapamangala
kahu Rādhāballava Dāsa

So we can presume that the name of the poet was Rādhāballava Dās. We have given the reference to Rādhāballava Dās above but this Rādhāballava Dās wrote only in *Brajabuli*. In fact they are different. In the old records it is stated that there were five Rādhāballava Dās among them three and two were disciples of Śrīnivās Āchārya and Narottama Ṭhākur respectively. The reference of Śrīnivās Āchārya's disciples can be given in relation to Rādhāballava. Among the two disciples of Narottama Ṭhākur one is Rādhāvallava Datta, nephew of Rādhāballava Dās. The another was Rādhāvallava Choudhury.

So it is very hard to distinguish who was famous in the name of Rādhā Dās. It is said that he was contemporary of Śrīnivās Āchārya and Narottama Ṭhākur.

Rādhāballava Dās

We get 17 *padas* of Rādhāballava Dās. It is known from his two *padas* that he was a disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. But it is said that there were three disciples of Śrīnivās Āchārya in the name of Rādhāballava. They were 1. Rādhāballava Mandal, 2. Rādhāballava Dās and 3. Rādhāvallava Dās Ṭhākur. It is very hard to say who was really a poet. Jagadbandhu Bhadra in this respect told that Rādhāvallava Mandal, son of Sudhākar Mandal of Kanchagadia was the real poet. In the '*Karṇānanda*' the heridity of Rādhāvallava Dās (Mandal) is referred to.

> Sudhākar Mandala prabhura bhritya ekajana /
> tār strī śyāmapriyā kripāra bhājana //
> tār putra rādhāballava mandala sucharitra //
> harināma binā yār nāhi ār kritya //
>
> —Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p. 167.

He translated in Bengali *Bilāpakusumanjali* by Raghunāth Goswāmī. He also wrote two other books 1. *Sanātan Goswāmīr Sūchak* and 2. *Sahāyatatwa.*

In the '*Rasa-kalpa-vallī*' we can see another name of Rādhāvallava Dās Chakravarty who is regarded by Dr. S. Sen[152] as the real poet. The author of '*Rasakalpavallī*' has referred only to one *pada* which does not prove the composition of Rādhāvallava Dās rather it qualifies the authorship to Rādhāvallava Dās Chakravarty. The title 'Ṭhākur' is only used by the Brāhmiṇs so Dr. S. Sen agrees that Rādhāvallava Dās Ṭhākur is no other than 'Chakravarty' and he is the real poet. The date of birth of all persons is unknown.

Rāghavendra Rāy

We have reference to Rāghavendra Rāy in the '*Premabilās*'. Rāghavendra Rāy and Viṣṇupriyā had two sons Sad Rāy and Santosh Rāy. Both of them were disciples of Narottama Ṭhākur. Dr. S. Sen in his book '*History of Brajabuli Literature*'[153] has referred to one pada which is found in the hand written manuscript stores in the Bangiya Sāhitya Parisad Granthāgār. No more information is available.

Rāmachandra

We are told that there were two persons in the name of Rāmachandra—among them Rāmachandra Kavirāj was famous. We can find two *padas* of him in *Padakalpataru*.

The first one is Rāmachandra Kavirāj was elder brother of Gobinda Dās Kavirāj, disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. Narottama Ṭhākur was his friend. Though we have not his exact date of birth yet it seems that he was born during the period because Govinda Dās was known in between 1537 A.D. to 1612 A.D. We can find his reference to in different books such as *Premabilās, Bhaktamāla, Bhaktiratnākar* and *Karṇānanda*. Information received so far in the *Bhaktamāla* reveals that Rāmachandra was the younger brother of Govinda Dās. Once Śrīnivās Āchārya saw him after his marriage and remarked that such a person should be a devotee of Kṛṣṇa. On hearing Rāmachandra left home and took initiation from Śrīnivās Āchārya. Before this incident Rāmachandra was a Śākta. But in the *Premabilās* Rāmachandra was identified as elder brother of Gobinda Dās.[154] Rāmachandra, in his self-introduction to Śrīnivās Āchārya indicates :

Rāmachandra nām mor āmbastha kule janma /
kebal lālasā prabhur charaṇ darśan //
tiliā budhuri grāme janma mor hai /
pitār nāma chiranjib sen mahāśaya //
kanisṭha bhrātāra nām hay Śrīgobinda /
ekodare duibhāi parama swachchhanda //
| Padakalpataru, Epilogue, p. 60.

Rāmachandra Kaviraj was learned and wrote '*Smaran-Darpaṇa*' a Bengali book. The another Rāmachandra was Rāmachandra Goswāmī, son of Chaitanya Dās and grandson of Vaṅśīvadan. He was disciple of Jāhnabi Devī, wife of Nityānanda. Because of the same name his padas some times mix with the padas of Rāmachandra Kavirāj. His date of birth might have been during the year 1534 A D. He wrote '*Kaḍachā Manjari*', '*Sampatikā*' and '*Pakanda-dalan*'. We can see his reference to *Vaiṣṇavabandanā* and *Baṅśī-sikshā*. He for sometime lived in Brindāban. He came with Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa idol from Brindāban to Gour.

Rāmānanda Basu

In the history of Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal we can see two Rāmānanda but in the *Padakalpataru*, there are 11 *padas* collected so far under the name of Rāmānanda. The renowned Rāmānandas are Rāmānanda Basu and Rāmānanda Rāy. Single *padas* of Rāmānanda Rāy which have been collected in the *Padakalpataru* are written in '*Brajabuli*'. Other works of Rāmānanda Rāy are in Sanskrit. In the works written in Sanskrit the author gave his self-introduction in the name of Rāmānanda Rāy and never used the name Rāmānanda, Rāmānanda Dās and Dīnahīna Rāmānanda. So it is presumed that *padas* written in Bengali are written by Rāmānanda Basu. Rāmānanda Basu was the resident of Kulingram in the district of Burdwan. Some scholars believe that Rāmānanda was the grandson of Mālādhar Basu, Zamindār of Kulingram and a Vaiṣṇava poet after Chaṇḍī Dās. Mālādhar Basu was also known as Gunaraj Khana title given by Muslim Sultan of Gour. Mālādhar's son was Satyarāj Khān and Rāmānanda was the son of Satyarāj. But modern writers like Dr. S. Sen remarked that Rāmānanda was not the grandson but son of Mālādhar Basu and Satyarāj Khān was his title. *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* refers to the poet's name.

> Kulingrāme Satyarāja ār Rāmānanda /
> Jadunāth Purusottama Śaṅkar Bijayānanda //
> Bāṇīnāth Basu ādi yata grāmigan /
> Sabe chaitanya bhritya chaitanya prāṇadhan //
>
> —Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10, p. 59.

'*Vaiṣṇavabandanā*' also supports this writing.

> Basu baṅsa Rāmānanda bandila jatane /
> jār baṅse gour binā anya nāhi jāne //
>
> —Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p. 164.

Rāmānanda Basu was among the one of the nine *bhaktas* who personally served Śrīchaitanya in his life time. Every year he used to come to Puri to see Śrīchaitanya. The exact date of birth and death is not known—yet he was contemporary of Śrīchaitanya.

Rāy Basanta

Rāy Basanta was Brāhmiṇ by caste. Gobinda Dās Kavirāj in one of his poem has referred to his name.

> Gobinda Dās kahaye matimantra /
> bhulala jāhe dwija Rāy Basanta //
>
> —Padakalpataru, Pada No. 2434.

Gobinda Dās Kavirāj supports the friendship of Rāy Basanta and Kavirāj himself. There are also three *padas* of Rāy Basanta, collected along with the padas of Gobinda Dās and included in '*Padakalpataru*'. It proves that both were friend and contemporary. He was living around the 'Kheturi' and at times he went Brindāban on pilgrimage. At this time Narottama, Rāmachandra and Gobinda Dās sent letters to Jīva Goswāmī by Rāy Basanta. In the *Padakalpataru* there are 51 padas found under the name of Rāy Basanta. In the *Bhaktiratnākar*[155] also there is one lyric dedicated to Narottama Dāsa. His exact date of birth is not known.

Rāy Śekhar

Rāy Śekhar or Kavi Śekhar was the greatest Vaiṣṇava Poet among the poets who appeared after Gobinda Dās. He wrote in Bengali and Brajabuli. He named himself as Kabi Śekhar, Rāy Śekhar, Śekhar Rāy, Dukhiā, Pāpiyā Śekhar or only Śekhar. So far as his identity is concerned he was identified with Vidyāpati by Nagendra Nath Gupta but modern writers like Dr. S. Sen and Satish Chandra Rāy believe that Rāy Śekhar was different from Vidyāpati.

He was a disciple of Raghunandan Goswāmī who attended Kheturi Mahotsava. So it can be easily stated that Rāy Śekhar was born before the occurrence of Kheturi festival. It is supported in the three *padas* of *'Padakalpataru'*. The book *'Śākhānirnaya'* also states same news. There are 35 *padas* of him in *'Padakalpataru'*[156] of which 8 *padas* are related to the compilation of *Kṛṣṇa Līlā*.

Sachīnandan Dās

Sachīnandan was younger brother of Rāmchandra Goswāmī, grandson of Baṅśīvadan and son of Chaitanyadās. Rāmchandra Goswāmī was born around 1534 A.D. So Sachīnandan might have born after 1534 A.D. Yet his exact date of birth and death is not known. We can find two *padas* of him one in *Padakalpataru* and the other in *Gourpadatarangini*. Besides these one poem refers to heroine's weal and woe is found. It describes Viṣṇupriyā's sorrow.

Śaṅkardās

We find three *padas* of Śaṅkardās collected in the *Padakalpataru*. There were find Śaṅkardās found in the Vaiṣṇava literature. Among five only two seems to be poets. The first one was the associate of Śrīchaitanya and younger brother of Dāmodar Paṇḍit. In the 10th Chapter of *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*, Vol. I, we find reference to him :

> Tāhāra anuja śākhā Śaṅkar Paṇḍit /
> Prabhur pādopadhāna jār nāma bidita //
> —Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10, p. 57.

But he was not *Padakartā*. The second one was other than the first referred to in *Chaitanyacharitāmrita*.

The third Śaṅkar was among the disciples of Nityānanda Prabhu.

> Śaṅkar Mukunda Jñānadās Manohar /
> —Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-11, p. 63.

The fourth Śaṅkar was disciple of Narottama Ṭhākur referred to in the *Narottam Vilās*.

> Jay vaiṣṇabera priya Śaṅkar biśwās /
> gour guṇa ye ho parama ullās //
> —Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p. 179.

The fifth was the Śaṅkar Ghosh as referred to in the Vaiṣṇavabandanā by Debakinandana.

Bandiba Śaṅkar Ghosh kinchana rīti /
damkera bādyate ye prabhura kale prīti //
—Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p. 179.

The fourth and fifth Śaṅkar was '*padakartā*'. We have got a book *Garuḍakshina* under the name of Śaṅkar Dās but whether he was Śaṅkar Biśwās or Śaṅkar Ghosh, it was not decided.

Sanātan

Sanātan was a south Indian Brāhmiṇ, pseudonymously known as Sākar Mallik and a minister of Husain Sāha, emperor of Gouḍ. He was a scholar and had knowledge of Sanskrit poetics and unparalleled in knowledge at that time. He saw Śrīchaitanya first at Rāmakeli, and felt that he had met the greatest scholar of the world. Chaitanya gave him Hindu name and he was henceforth known as Sanātana. This interview produced a greater influence upon Sanātana and he became a different person. The meeting with Śrīchaitanya was a turning point in his life. The teachings of Śrīchaitanya attracted him which finally made up his mind to renounce the world and take the ascetic vow. For some time he did not attend the court of Husain Sāha and a news was reported that he was ill. Husain Sāha sent a physician to examine whether Sanātan was really ill. The physician reported that he had no illness. Sanātan was called on and the king came to know his thoughts. The king tried to dissuade him from his thoughts but did not succeed. The Bādsah then ordered him to be thrown in prison. Just at that time the Bādsah was busy in fighting against his enemies abroad. The relatives of Sanātan, finding the absence of Bādsah from the capital, offered the jailor Mīr Hābul and an amount of Rs. 7,000/- for setting Sanātan free. The jailor made Sanātan free. Sanātan left Gouḍ atonce accompanied by a servant Īśāna. They then crossing the Ganges came to a village at Patrā where they became guests of a person called Bhyā. Īśān brought 15 gold mohars with him. Out of these 14 was given to their host Bhyā who was a robber in disguise. Sanātan gave one gold mohar to Īśāna and advised him to go back home since he still cared for money.

After great hardships on the way, Sanātan went to Benares and met Chaitanya. The meeting was full of pathos. Chaitanya received him with great kindness and enjoyment and Sanātan took leave of him for a few minutes in order to give the coarse blanket to a beggar he received from Śṛkanṭha. Seeing this Chaitanya admired him and said "delighted am I, that you have now parted with all that is wordly. Now vision of God will be clear to you". For sometime Sanātan had gone to Mathurā to meet his brother, Rūpa and came back to meet Chaitanya there. On the way Sanātan was attached with eczema. He thought of his sins and might not have been allowed to Jagannāth temple as he was fallen from the Brāhmaṇic order. He thought himself of no use and better to die under the great car.

Sanātan was living with Haridās. One day Chaitanya came to the place where Haridās was living. Chaitanya saw and ran to meet Sanātan and Sanātan going a little away said, "Master, I am full of sins and my body is afflicted with eczema. It should not be touched by you". Chaitanya at once embraced him and said, "your dear self, Sanātan, is my constant joy". Chaitanya also enquired of the news of Mathurā and departed from him that day. Next day when Chaitanya came again advised Sanātan not to think of putting an end of his life. It is a to commit suicide. God's grace is to be gained by love and self-dedication and not by suicide. Sanātan surprised how Chaitanya could know his innermost thoughts. Chaitanya again said, "You told me at your first meeting, this body of yours, you had dedicated to me. It is mine now and you cannot use it as you wish. By my mother's will I have to live at Puri and I cannot violate her orders. But much remains to be done in the up country where people are illiterate and without faith in God. There you will have to work and employ your talents and learning, writing beautiful books on the cult of love.

Sanātan Goswāmī was the brother of Rūpa Goswāmī, previously lived at Bengal, later on settled at Brindāban at the instance of Śrīchaitanyadeva. He was a great author and was a great bhakta of Śrīchaitanyadeva. He was caught by Muslim emperor of Gouḍ and cautioned, but by playing a great conspiracy he became released. Thereafter he came to Puri where Śrīchaitanya was living at that time. He met Śrīchaitanya and he was advised to go to Brindāban for preaching the new doctrine of love for Bhagabān. He wrote a book in the name '*Madan Mohaner Seva*'. The ślokas namely 143 and 283 were his composition.

Shyāmadās

There are many contradictory views regarding the presence of Shyāmadās. On the basis of the information available so far there were four persons in the name of Shyāmadās.

They were: Shyāmadās Chakraverty, who was the brother-in-law and disciple of Śrīnivās Achārya[157], son of Gopāla Chakravarty. The name of second Shyāmadās was Shyāmadās Chatta who was also a disciple of Śrīnivās Āchārya. The third Shyāmadās was also Shyāmadās Chakraverty, son of Vyās Chakraverty. Both father and son were disciples of Śrīnivāsa Āchārya.

The last one was Shyāmadās Āchārya, disciple of Advaita Āchārya and was referred to in the *Vaiṣṇavāchārya Darpaṇa*. We have found many poems in different anthological works such as *Padakalpataru*, *Gourpadatarangini*, *Saṅkīrtananda* in the name of Shyāmadās. The *padas* itself show that the author had the speciality of using

Brajabuli and the language of these *padas* are mixed. So it can be easily said that the poet was living at Brindāban and who was able to write *padas* in mixed language (*Brajabhāsā*).[158]

Shyāmadāsa, the son of Vyās Chakraverty, was a learned person. Although the date of birth and death is unknown yet it is sure that Shyāmadāsa was contemporary of Śrīnivāsa Āchārya.

Shyāmānandadāsa

Shyāmānandadāsa was an inhabitant of village Dharenda Bahadurpur. We have no information regarding his date of birth and death. His father was Krişņa Mandal and his mother Durikā. Shyāmānanda was known by different names such as 'Krişņadās', 'Dukhi' and 'Dukhini'. He learnt Vaişņava Śāstra from Jīva Goswāmī at Brindāban. Many of the songs on Rādhā and Krişņa, which he composed, appeared under *Padakalpataru* and *Padakalpalatikā*. Shyāmānanda was a disciple of Gourdās Paņḍit. He preached Vaişņavism in Orissa and went back Bengal with Śrīnivās and Narottama. Shyāmānanda's worthy disciple Rasika Murārī carried the work of propagating the Vaişņava faith in Orissa, an elaborate description of the manner in which this work was conducted is found in a book "*Rasika Mangal*" by Gopīvallava Dās. The Mahārājā of Mayurbhanja and other chiefs of Orissa, who profess the Vaişņava faith, acknowledge the descendant of Rasika Murārī as their spiritual directors. Shyāmadās wrote both in *Brajabhāsā* and in Bengali.[159] In the *Gourapadatarangini* we find one *pada* by Narottama Dās in reference to Shyāmānanda.

Śivānanda Āchārya

We are in dark about the date of birth and death. But some reliable information can be found in the '*Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*' in which Kŗşņadās Kavirāj tells us that he was a disciple of Gadādhar Paņḍit. We can find out three *padas* of Śivānanda and six *padas* of Sibāi from *Padakalpataru*. In the *Bhaktiratnākar* there is one *pada* in the name of Śibānanda. All these poems describe the relation between Gourānga and Gadādhar. So it is said the Śivānanda and Śibāi is the name of one person and disciple of Gadādhar Paņḍit. It also stated that he attends the festival of Kheturi. So his presence seems to have occurred during 1583-1584 A.D.

Śivarāmadās

We have no exact information of his date of birth and death yet some poems written in *Brajabuli* and *Brajabhāsā* are found in *Padakalpataru*. Some *padas* composed in *Payāra* (metrical system in which each line consists of fourteen letters or syllables) which can be noted :

Jay Śibarāmdās parama udāra /
Gour Nityānanda Adwaita sarbaswa jāhāra //
—Gourpadatarangini, Intr., p. 179.

Śivarāmdās is the disciple and contemporary of Narottama Ṭhākur.

Śivānanda Sen

Śivānanda Sen was the father of poet Paramānanda Sen (alias Kavikarṇapur) author of *Chaitanyachandrodayanātaka.* Śivānanda is an inhabitant of Kulingrām of Burdwan district. He left home and took ascetic life and used to meet Śrīchaitanyadev every year at Nīlāchala along with other pilgrimage. In the *Gourapadatarangini, Vaiṣṇavabandanā* and in the *Chaitanyacharitāmrita* we have references to Śivānanda Sen. Though his date of birth is not known yet it is said that he was born about 1512 A.D. In the *Padakalpataru* we can see three *padas* named after him.

Śrīnivāsa Āchārya

Śrīnivāsa Āchārya was a resident of Chakhandi village. His father was Gaṅgādhar Bhattācharya alias Chaitanyadās. His mother was daughter of Balarāma Āchārya, an inhabitant of Jejigram. He was born Ca. 1516 A.D. We are told many legends about his life. He went Brindāban and learnt Vaiṣṇava Śāstra from Jīva Goswāmī. His precepter was Gopāla Bhatta. He met Shyāmānanda and Narottama at Brindāban. We have references to in the works like *Premavilāsa, Karṇānanda, Anuragavallī, Bhaktiratnākar* and *Narottamavılāsa.* In the *Karṇānanda* and in the *Padakalpataru* we can find five and three *padas* respectively.[160]

Subal Chandra Ṭhākur

Jadunandan in his work '*Karṇānanda*' tells us that Subal Chandra Ṭhākur was nephew and disciple of Hemalatā Debī. Hemalatā Debī was the daughter of Śrīnivās Āchārya. So Subal Chandra was the grandson of Śrīnivās Āchārya. Āchārya had three sons—Brindāban Chandra, Rādhākṛṣṇa and Gati Govinda. Gati Govinda had three sons Kṛṣṇaprasād, Sundarānanda and Hari. So it can be easily presumed that Subal Chandra might have been the son of either Brindāban Chandra or Rādhākṛṣṇa. He might have born during the later part of 16th century or first of 17th century. It is said that Subal Chandra lived at the time when Hemalatā also lived. He was a contemporary of Hemalatā Debī. We can see two *padas* of Subal Chandra Ṭhākur in the *Padāmritasamudra.*

Sulochana

Sulochana as described in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Kriṣṇachandra Kavirāj Goswāmī was a disciple of Śrīchaitanya. He was Baidya by caste and resident of Śrīkhanda in the district of Burdwan. But according to Rām Gopāl Dās he belonged to Raghunandan's Group of disciple. We have seen single *pada* in *Gourpadatarangini*.

Swarūpa Dāsa

There were two men in the name of Swarūpa Dāsa. We are told that there is a person in the name of Swarūpa Dāsa in the list of disciples of Śrīnivāsa Āchārya and seemed to be his contemporary. *Bhaktiratnākar* supports this fact. The second one was referred to in the *Narottamabilāsa*. This Swarūpa Dāsa is contemporary and associate of Śrīchaitanyadev.

Swarūpa Dāmodar

He was one of the most favourite associates of Śrīchaitanyadev from the days of his childhood. He was known as Swarūpa Dāmodar after his initiation of ascetic life. Previously his name was Purusottama Āchārya. After taking the ascetic life he came to Puri and lived with Śrīchaitanyadev. We have references to him in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*[161] which indicate that he wrote a biography of Śrīchaitanya. We have not any information regarding his date of birth and death. Swarūpa Dāmodar was resident of Nadia. He was Brāhmiṇ by caste.

Tulasī Dās

We are not so sure about existence of Tulasī Dās. The single *pada* occurs in the *Kshanadagītachintamani* proves his presence but it is not free from confusion. We can get also same *pada* of Gobinda Dās but the meaning of the last line differs from each other. The idea of last line of Tulasīdās's *pada* is same as the *pada* of Śekhara. So it is hard to ascertain the authorship of this particular *pada*. Though we do not get correct information of Tulsīdās yet in *Premabilāsa* and in *Karṇānanda* there are name of Tulsīrāmadas who as it is stated was the disciple of Śrīnivāsa Āchārya.

Uddhava Dās

It is stated by Dr. D. C. Sen in his '*History of Bengali Language and Literature*' that Uddhava Dās was a friend of Vaiṣṇava Dās, an inhabitant of Tena Vaidyāpur and he compiled the celebrated *Padakalpataru*.

But in other books we find that there were two Uddhava Dās—one of them lived in the 18th Century. He wrote a number of poems. This Uddhava Dās referred to in his poems. In the *Padakalpataru*[162] we find two *padas* of less popular Uddhava Dās—who was a disciple of Gadādhar Paṇḍit and was present at the Kheturi festival. But in the *Padāmritasamudra* we do not find any *padas* of Uddhava Dās. It indicates that Uddhava Dās whose *pada* we find in the *Padakalpataru* either he was not popular upto 18th century or he was not *padakartā*. The compiler of *Padāmritasamudra* was a man of 18th century.

Any how Dr. Sen states on the basis of the records received from late Sajanī Kānta Dās the presence of another Uddhava Dās.

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21. Ār putrabadhu Chandramukhī nānā guṇamani /
Jayānanda, Śrī Ch. Maṅgal, p. 3.

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30. Ibid, p. 1196.

31. Prabhura atyantapriya Paṇḍit Gaṅgādās /
yābār smarane hay bhababandha nāś //
Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-15-5.

32. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip : Haribol Kutir, 471 Chaitanya Era, p. 1197.

33. Kavi Karṇapur, Gouḍīyaganoddesadīpikā, Śloka-116.

34. Ibid, Śloka 98-101.

35. Śrī Ch. Ch., 1-10-64.

36. Ibid, 1-11-49.

37. Ibid, 1-11-50.

38. Ibid, 1-10-114.

39. Ibid, 1-10-113.

40. Ibid, 1-12-19.

41. Thākurer sakhā tihon brata Akumār /
Śiṣya praśiṣya yār bhuban bistar //
Śākhānirṇaya, p. 4.

42. Kavi Karṇapur, Gouḍiyaganoddesadīpikā, Śloka 102-3.
43. Ibid, Śloka 196, 207.
44. Śrī Ch. Ch., 2-11-159.
45. Ibid, 3-11-9.
46. Ibid, 1-11-7.
47. Ibid, 1-12-79.
48. Ibid, 1-12-86.
49. Kavi Karṇapur, Gouraganoddesadīpikā, Śloka 196, 206.
50. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10-109.
51. Ibid, 1-11-48 ; See also, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, p. 1239.
52. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip : Haribol Kutir, 471 Chaitanya Era, p. 1241.
53. Ibid., p. 1240.
54. Kavi Karṇapur. Gouraganoddesadīpikā, Śloka 194, 200.
55. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-12-60.
56. Ibid., 1-11.
57. Ibid. 1-10-109.
58. Kavi Karṇapur, Gouraganoddesadīpikā, Śloka 197, 200.
59. Tabe bandon ṭhākur Kamalākar dās /
    Krishnasaṅkīrtan yār parama ullās //
    Brindābandās Vaiṣṇavabandanā, Śloka 88.
60. Śri Murārīgupta, Śrī Kamalakānta nām /
    Krishnānanda ādi yata gosthir pradhān //
    Brindābandās, Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabat, 1-6-56.
61. Kamalākānta Biśwās nāma Adwaita kinkar
    Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-12-28.
62. Paṇḍit Kamalākānta parama uddam /
    ynāhāre dilen Nityānanda saptagrām //
    Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabat, 3-6-474.
63. Goure 'purbabhritya prabhur priya Kamalānanda'. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-1-49,
64. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip : Haribol Kutir, 471 Chaitanya, Era, p. 1168.
65. Brindābandās, Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabat, 1-15-51-56.
66. Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscript by MM. H. P. Śāstri, Vol. V, Purana No. 362G.
67. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10-111.
68. Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Maṅgal, Pada 88.
69. Kavi Karṇapur, Gouraganoddesadīpikā, Śloka 42.
70. Ibid., Śloka 140.

71. Prabhur paḍua dui Purusottama Sañjay /
byākarane dui śiṣhya dui Mahāśaya //
Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10-71.

72. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-11-50.

73. Ibid., 1-11-48.

74. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip : Haribol Kutir, 471 Chaitanya Era, p. 1271.

75. Kavi Karṇapur, GouraganoddesadIpikā, Śloka 168.

76. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-11-45 ; See also, Kavi Karṇapur, Gouraganoddesadipikā, Śloka 193, 199. Also see, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, p. 1279.

77. Bhaktiratnākar, p. 126.

78. Jayānanda, Śrīchaitanya Maṅgal, p. 88.

79. Pundarika Vidyānidhi bara sakhā jāni /
ynār nām laiyā prabhu kāndila āpani //
Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10-12.

80. Rādhā Gouḍe praseddha paṇḍita Purandar /
Nityānanda Swarupera prānera dosara //
Śrīchaitanya Maṅgal, p. 144.

81. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10-80.

82. Ibid., 1-12-62.

83. Purusattama Datta se kebala udār /
ynhār mandire Nityānander bihār //
Śrīchaitanya Maṅgal, p. 145.

84. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 2-11-79.

85. Ratnagarbha Āchārya bikhyāta tnār nām /
prabhur bāper sange, janma ek grām //
Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabat, 2-1-151.

86. Śrichaitanyacharitāmrita, 3-8-19.

87. Ibid., 3-12-18.

88. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip : Haribol Kutir, 471 Chaitanya Era, p. 1394.

89. Ibid., p. 1391.

90. Ibid., p. 1392.

91. Ibid., p. 1393.

92. Ibid., p. 1403 ; See also, Debakinandan, Vaiṣṇavabandanā, Śloka 69.

93. Brindābandās II, Vaiṣṇavabandanā, Śloka 75.

94. Chandrasekhargrihe kailā dui mās bās /
Tapan Miśrera ghare bhikshā dui mās //
Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10.

95. Trimalla bhatter ghare kaila prabhu bās /
tāhāhi rahilā prabhu barsa chārimās //
Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 2-1-99.

96. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 211.

97. Manuscript preserved in Calcutta University, No. 2491.

98. Bhaktiratnākar, p. 589.

99. Ananta Dās, Kānta Paṇḍit, Dās Nārāyaṇ /
Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-12-65.

100. Balarāmdās Krishnaprema rasāswādī /
Nityānanda nāme hay parama unmādī //
Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-11-62,

101. Padakalpataru, Pada 225, 234.

102. Gourpadatarangini, p. 5, Pada 5.

103. Karṇānanda Nirjās—1.

104. Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p. 122.

105. Ibid., Intro., p. 224.

106. Brindāban Dās, Śrīchaitanya Bhāgabat, Antyalīlā, Chap. 5.

107. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, pp. 151, 153.

108. Ibid., p. 410.

109. Premavilās 20, p. 20.

110. Narottamavilās, Vilās. 12.

111. Padakalpataru, p. 1378.

112. Chaṇḍidās Vidyāpati Rāyer nātakagīti
Karṇānanda Śrīgītagobinda /
Swarūp Rāmānanda Sane Mahāpravu rātridine
Gāya śune parama ānanda //
Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 2-2-106.

113. Śrichaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-10-78.

114. Śrī Haridās Dās, Śrī Śrī Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Abhidhān, Śrīdhām Nabadwip : Haribol Kutir, 471 Chaitanya Era, p. 1260.

115. Kshanadagitachintamani, Pada 305.

116. Bhaktiratnākar, p. 673.

117. Padakalpataru, Pada 18.

118. Ibid., Pada 3092.

119. Ibid., Part V, Parisista, p. 60.

120. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 202, F. N.

121. Narottamavilās, Vilās-8.

122. Bande Śrī Achyutānanda prabhura tanaya /
Balarām Krishna Miśra ār jata hoy //
Tomār āgñāya likhi jatan kariyā /
Adwaitamangal, p. 19.

123. Ya rachila Gourānger adbhuta charita /
drabe dāru pāṣāṇa śuniyā yār gita //
Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p. 156.

124. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-12, p. 66.

125. Jagannāth Dās bando sangite paṇḍita /
Yār gīt śuniyā Śrī Jagannāth mohita //
Gourpadatarangini, Intro. p., 85.

126. Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā, Vol, 37, p. 101 and Vol. 38, p. 146.

127. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 194.

128. Premavilās, Vilās-20.

129. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 198.

130. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-11, p. 62.

131. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 204.

132. Ibid.

133. Premavilās, Vilās-20.

134. D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta University, Calcutta, p. 414.

135. Dr, S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature. p. 399.

136. D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 425.

137. Śrīla Raghupati Upādhāya, Māhidhar /
Murārī, Mukunda, Jñānadās, Manohar //
Gourpadatarangini, Intro., p., 141.

138. D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 475.

139. Dr. Satī Ghosh, Śrī Śrī Gourānga līlār pratyakshya darsi nay jan kabi, Calcutta, General Printers and Publishers, 1361 B. S., p. 38.

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141. Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā, Vol. 37, p. 101.

142. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 155.

143. D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, Calcutta, Calcutta University, p. 472.

144. Padakalpataru, Pada 2858 and 2871.

145. Gourganoddesadīpikā, p. 199.

146. Padakalpataru, Pada nos. 183, 672, 2906.

147. Premavilās, Vilās-20. See also Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 195.

148. D. C. Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 440.

149. Śrī Shyāmānandera śiṣya Rasika murārī /
Premavilās, Vilās-20.

150. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 171.

151. Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad, Hand written manuscript, no. 2353.

152. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 166.

153. Ibid., p. 408.

154. Premavilās by Nityānanda Dās, Published by Yasodālāl Tālukdār, Rādhāraman Press, Berhāmpur, 1320 B. E.

155. Baṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā, Vol. 36, p. 62.

156. Satis Chandra Rāy, Padakalpataru, Epilogue, p. 30.

157. Shyāmadās Rāmachandra Gopāl tanaye /
Shyāmānanda Rāma charanākshya keho kay //
Dohe Āchārayara śishya advuta charita /
Gourpadatarrngini, Intro., p. 181.

158. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 471.

159. Padakalpataru, Pada 1085.

160. Karṇānanda, p. 111.

161. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita, 1-13, pp. 68-69.

162. Dr. S. Sen, History of Brajabuli Literature, p. 88.

Chapter Seven

ORISSAN VAIṢṆAVISM AND ŚRĪCHAITANYADEV

YOGA—JÑĀNA—BHAKTI

PREMABHAKTI

Orissan Vaiṣṇavism denotes the eclectic form of Vaiṣṇavism that prevailed in medieval Orissa. It centred round the conception of Jagannāth and may be called Jagannāthism. It did not completely eclipse Śaivism, Buddhism, and the Śākta-worship, rather it assimilated certain ideas from those faiths, specially from Buddhism.

We had the reference to denouncement of Buddhism by the Master in '*Śrīchaitanyacharitāmṛita*'. The Master declared before Sārbabhouma Bhattāchārya that "he is a wretch who denounce form of God ; touch not, behold not that slεve of Death. The Buddhist are atheist for not respecting the Vedas".[1] But according to medieval vaiṣṇava philosophy of Orissa Śrīchaitanyadev was supposed to be living embodiment of Jagannāth—who was also regarded as Ādi-Buddha.

In Śunyasamhita we have found that the sage Astābakra had cursed[2] the clan of Yādava to be destroyed. On hearing this Kṛṣṇa called on Varuna and described the fact. He also advised Varuna to bring the disc of destruction from Manipura. He himself will destroy clan. The sages would then be satisfied and let this be known in all ages. Varuna then sent for Nīlakantheswara, Śiva of Puri, who came to console the grief-stricken Kṛṣṇa. Seeing Śiva, Kṛṣṇa became very restless and tears came down his cheeks out of insultations. Nīlakantheswara consoled Kṛṣṇa with soothing words, "O Hari, why are you overcome with grief ? We know it beforehand that you would destroy the Yādava Clan. After the destruction (of the Yādava Clan) thou would repair to thy abode. Then as Buddha on the sea-shore you would enjoy majestic splendour··· At first, you would be worshipped as the sacred log (Dāru Brahma) on the sea-coast. There your family serve you". Kṛṣṇa was thus consoled. The fatal arrow of Jarā, the Savara, struck his foot and he passed away. In another place of Śunyasamhitā we have seen that Kṛṣṇa before his passing away, informed Sudāma, one of his best friends, (in next birth Achyuta, the author himself) that he would appear in Kali-Yuga again as Buddha because of the curse of the sages.[3] The same fact is described in another place while Kṛṣṇa told Sudāma that he would appear as the Buddha incarnation during Kali-Yuga. He also said, "My partial manifestation will appear at Nabadwipa and shall be known as Chaitanya".[4] Thus we have seen that Jagannāth is the full and Chaitanya is the partial manifestation of Kṛṣṇa.

The same legends are found easily in the works of Vaiṣṇava poets of the period under study and later on, Jagannāth Dās in his *Dārubrahmagītā*[5] described vividly how Pāṇḍavas cremated Lord Kṛṣṇa who became incarnated as Dārubrahma in Purusottamakshetra. Jagannāth Dās in other books, *Deulatolā*[6] and *Jagannāth Charitāmrita* mentioned that Viṣṇu in the Kali-age would be worshipped as the sacred log (*Dāru Devatā*). In *Dārubrahmagītā*, the author declares that Kṛṣṇa will incarnate himself in every age to save the virtuous and destroy the sinners. The Buddha-Jagannāth incarnation had the same mission.

We know that incarnation is not uniformerly appeared during the past. It has changed its form from age to age. It cannot live for all time. It comes when sinners became more. Goutam-Buddha was one of them and saved the world from the cluster of sinners and misconception. The advent of Śrīchaitanya as the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa was inevitable during the period. The socio-political condition prevailed during the time substantiated the importance of another incarnation and Śrīchaitanya was accepted as the incarnation of Jagannāth-Buddha. This is also substantiated by the poets like Achyutānanda Dās, Jagannāth Dās and Dibākar Dās and Īśwar Dās that after his passing away. He absorbed himself with Śrī Jagannāth as a flash of lighting.

Despite these facts described in the works of the poets of 16th century we have also more information in the works of poets of later period. Īśwar Dās in almost all the concluding *padas* of his *Śrīchaitanyabhāgavata* referred to that Śrīchaitanya was an incarnation of Buddha. In one instance the Master told Debaki that he should assume the name of Chaitanya to free the mankind living in the abyss of ignorance.[7] The Master here expressed himself as the incarnation of Bouddha and advised to worship him through the path of bhakti.[8] In *Jhumara Samhitā*[9] of Nirākār Dās we have found description of Śrīchaitanya as the partial manifestation of Jagannāth, the Ādi-Buddha. The literatures produced during the period, under the influence of neo-vaiṣṇavism relate specially to Yoga-Jñāna-Bhakti and Premabhakti. The following discussions will throw some light of one of these two types of system prevailed in Orissa.

Orissa has had a strong hold of Yoga-Jñāna-Bhakti and Premabhakti. During the period of our study, we have found that poets of this time devoted their lives in writing treatises on Yoga and Jñāna. They have thought these processes as the necessary steps through which human being can reach the world of God or can realise the god's presence. Among these stages yoga is the first step by which man can reach the realm of Jñāna. Here, naturally, a question comes to our mind. Why Yoga was necessary ? According to them the aims of Yoga system are to control disease, decay and death through physical culture and to realise the Alekha-Niranjana (the formless and spotless) by transferring the subtler body into a gross physical super-conscious one.[10] It is in one word controlling of mind. Body is the abode of mind. Unless body is controlled how mind can be controlled. So controlling of body is the primary step to control the mind. If body is under controlled condition then other process will be easy and realisation will be much easier. Divine grace can be attained through austere religious and bodily practices which helps to reach spiritual salvation.

The controlling of body i.e., Kāyāsiddhi, means here the controlling of bodily air inside the body. Human being can attain divine grace by crossing *ṣaḍa-chakra* (the theory of six plexuses), the thousand pettaled lotus (sahasrara) and that of the three nerves i.e. iḍā, pingalā, and susumnā. It helps in controlling breathing like puraka, kumbhaka and recaka. The poets of the period under study have taken these processes including various practices of *mudrās* and *bandhas* from Tantrayoga prevailed in the past. These systems of yoga often called by them as Haṭhayoga or as Ghaṭayoga which indicates yoga of the human body i.e. ghata. Human body being identified as ghata i.e. place.[11] The poets of the period for the sake of yoga made a thorough survey of the whole nervous system of the human body and consequently found out altogether 72 nerves from the naval region of the body.[12] They considered only 10 as essential nerves for yogic practices and named them as Iḍā, Pingalā, Susumnā, Gandhari, Hastijihva, Pusa, Yasasvini, Alambusa, Kuhu, Sankhini. But only Iḍā, Pingalā and Susumnā are regarded as the most important, which are placed inside the spinal column—Iḍā on the left, Pingalā on the right and Susumnā in the middle-running parallel to one another. These three vital mystic nerves meet together at Trikuta,[13] the place where both the nostrils meet, in between the two eyes below the forehead. Above this Trikuta there is a small hole known as *Brahmarandhra* which directs to the home of Alekha, and the cover of the hole is described delicate as the skin of the Sesame seed.[14] The process that a *sādhaka* follows is to raise the vital wind upward through susumnā and keep it in the Trikuta,[15] and after entering into the gate of *Brahmarandhra*, must concentrate upon Alekha and thus conquer Yama, the God of Death, easily.[16]

The followers of Yogic process said that the lifeforce should be given an upward direction, that is known as the *ultā* or *ujāni sādhanā*. This process implies return from the realm of Pravṛtti to the world of Nivṛtti.[17] This lifeforce, in case of ordinary man, should be conceived in the form of coiled snake, called *kuṇḍalini*. According to these philosopher-poets, there are six chakras in the human body and *kuṇḍalini* passes through different stages of yoga. Balarām Dās in his *Gupta Gīta* stated that the final stage may be reached when the cover of the slit is opened by constant yogic practices. Gradually the *kuṇḍalini* gets into Brahmachakra, situated inside the cavity of the head.[18] This Brahmachakra is also named as *Sahasrara*, the thousand petalled lotus having rays of a thousand suns and is defined as the incomprehensible arena of Alekha. In other side the upward journey of *kuṇḍalini* towards the *sahasrara* is described the march of the finite towards the infinite. When *kuṇḍalini* reached the *sahasrara*, the union of them is considered as the dalliance of Rādhā in Kṛṣṇa in eternal Rasa arena. It is found that the place of Brahma-chakra where *kuṇḍalini* met Alekha is also regarded as the seat of Jagannāth, the Lord of the universe. We have seen in *Chayalisa-Patala* of Achyutānanda Dās and *Virāta Gītā* of Balarāma Dās that human body has been identified in all its aspects with the temple of Lord Jagannāth, making the *sahasrara* region as the seat of the Lord.[19] During the later period, Dibākar Dās also has marked that the temple itself as the *sahasrara*, thousand pettalled lotus.[20] The main tuning of these Vaiṣṇava poets of the period under study is that they have had visualised, the union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa as the image of Lord Jagannāth.

So we can presume that systems of yoga which are essential for reaching to the ultimate destination is no other than the realm of incomprehensible Alekha Brahma who in other form is Lord Jagannāth, the non-dual conception of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa.

Jñāna

Jñāna is another path by which human being can reach salvation through the attainment of Brahman. In the past jñāna was considered one of the important paths. But afterwards the cult of bhakti became so prominent that it paid. Without an admixture of bhakti, jñāna can not alone lead to salvation, while bhakti alone is sufficient to beget liberation. Knowledge without bhakti is futile. Knowledge is inherent in the process of devotion. It comes easily to a man who is deeply devoted to the Lord.

Literature produced during the period under review indicates the popularity of jñāna in realising the Brahman (God). They agree in conceiving individual self as with Brahman or the Absolute. Balarāma Dās, in his *Gupta-Gītā* described the necessity of jñāna.

jñāna ye parama atai /
purbe ye keha na jānai //
ye jñāna hoichi gupata /
omkār bhitare e tatwa //

Jñāna in Orissan Literature means jñānayoga. In some places the worship of Śunya is regarded as jñāna. We have seen Īśwar Dās in his Śrīchaitanya Bhāgavata has regarded Lord Jagannāth as the incarnation of jñāna. The Vaiṣṇava poets of the century sometimes regarded Gītā, Bhāgavata, Yantra, Tantra, Yogānta, Siddhānta, Nāgānta as forms of jñāna. We can see in *Brahmasankoli*, references to jñāna.

Tu ye saptange heu baṇā /
bara tithire heu jaṇā //
sadhile bahu dine siddhi /
e mahā kasta jñāna bidhi //

In *Gurubhaktigītā* various systems of ascetic life are described. It is stated that every one should perform austerities of sādhana of various qualities such as mantra, yantra, pujā, chhāyā, abāḍa, jyoti, pabana, samādhi, rupachinta, ādhāra, dākshinya. If any one likes to have knowledge he should observe perfectly for twelve years before he reaches the stages of Bhakti.

However jñāna (knowledge) regarding the stages by which human being can enrich his idea of emancipation well-contained in the literary works of the period.

Of the four broad ways of the goal of perfection, viz., action (karma), discipline leading to the cessation of mental states (yoga), knowledge (jñāna) and love for the supreme deity (bhakti), bhakti is given highest place and regard in comparison to jñāna and karma. The vaiṣṇava poets of the 16th century assimilated knowledge (jñāna) with the bhakti and regarded it as the most efficacious means of reaching the supreme deal. According to them, a bhakta needs to follow some path of knowledge before he reaches the arena of bhakti. They said that bhakti comes after practising certain knowledge. It is evident that as the yoga was a must for reaching the stage of jñāna (knowledge) so knowledge (jñāna) is the ways or stages by which a person can reach the next higher stage i.e. bhakti. Whenever bhakti is achieved the utility of jñāna becomes no longer necessary.

Jagannātha Dās in his *Bhāgavata* illustrated the greatness and importance of Bhakti in human life.

Tarani bhabasindhu mela /
gīta prabandhe prakasila // Skanda—1

* * *

e bhāgavata jñāna rasa /
kahilā Jagannāth Dāsa // Skanda—2

* * *

e bhāgavata dharma bāṇī /
śuni sansaru tara prāṇī // Skanda—7

* * *

sujane kara euo mati /
tariba bisaya durgati // Skanda—8

* * *

purāṇa bhāgavata bāṇī /
sujane tara ehā śuni // Skanda—11

* * *

amṛta rasamoya bāṇī /
śuni taribe sādhu prāṇī //

He expressed the superiority of bhakti over jñāna.

Bhakta janare yete dayā /
jñāni pāibe kāhin tāhā //

We can see in *Sevāgrāmabhāgavata* that the poet advocated the greatness of bhakti through which God can be seen and achieved.

Bhaktiyogare dṛsya hoye /
Braja ananta rasamaye // Chap. 32, Pada 18.

Achyutānanda Dās describes that a bhakta (devotee) believes always in bhakti is regarded as Purusottama.

Bhaktire prīti yār thāya niti /
se aṭe Purusottama //
—Sibakalpa, 2nd Nirghanta.

The superiority and efficary of bhakti over all other modes of worship have been repeatedly described in various devotional and religious works of the period under review. The poet remarks :

Prema paripurana dyuti rādhā-kṛṣṇa mūrti /
nabadhā bhakti yehu gopīṅka angare //
—Sunyasamhitā, Chap. IX.

In this context vaiṣṇava poets of sixteenth century in Orissa such as Jagannāth Dās and others described the importance of Nabadhā Bhakti in their respective works. .

Jagannāth Dās in *Śrīmadbhāgavata* portrays the same in the words of Prahlāda,

Śuna he tāta mana deha /
Ye bidyā uttama manoh //
Kṛṣṇara srabana kīrtana /
Śmarana charana sevana //
Kariba tāṅka pujastaba /
Sangahe dāsa pare thiba //
Sakhya bhāvare neba dina /
Kariba ātma samarpana //
e naba lakshana bhakti /
ye nara gobinde karanti //
uttama bidyā boli tāhā /
yoge na lāge viṣṇu māyā //
—Bhāgavata, 7-5, p. 33 (Rādhā Edition).

The Poet also believed in self-less bhakti which is the best and purest of all.

Nirmala bhakti antargate /
yebe kara he abirate //
tebe labhayi bhagabāna /
anyathā sarba birambana //
Bhāgavata, 7-7, p. 52.

He in the words of Prahalāda supported the above *niskāma* (self-less) bhakti.

niskāma bhṛutya muh tohara /
—Bhāgavata, 7-10.

In reply to Prahalāda the god said—

emanta bhakta ye mohara /
e nische tāhāra byabhara //
yebe āshisa mana kalpe /
na lāge iha paraloke //
tora sadṛsa bhakta yete /
niskāme achchhanti jagate //
—Bhāgavata, 7-17.

Achyutānanda Dās in his *Śunyasamhitā* expressed the superiority of *nabadhā bhakti* among all other processes. His Kṛṣṇa says that

nabadhā bhakti sate surya achhi rahi /
moramana hare rādhā preetirasa dei //
gopagopīmāne nabadhā bhakti /
—Śunyasamhitā, Chap. IX.

Yasovanta Dās also regarded *nabadhā bhakti* as the path to reach the realm of God. According to him among *nabadhā bhakti* premabhakti is the best of all. He says—

Bhakti ye naba parkāra /
Premabhakti aṭe sara //
—Premabhakti Brahmagītā, Pada 132.

He also remarked—

Rādhāṅka ange gopya hoi /
Śrīkṛṣṇa anga na disai //
—Premabhakti Brahmagītā, Pada, 154.

Śrabana

Though Jagannāth Dās was the pioneer in introducing *nabadhā bhakti* yet we have seen that he lays greater importance on *śrabana*. He very often expressed that human being should hear description of gods in order to free from the worldly affairs ; at least one chapter of Kṛṣṇa, Hari and other gods.[21]

Kārtik Dās in *Nabamaraga*[22] described that *Śrabana* is essential for deepening the love for Kṛṣṇa. According to him *śrabana* is the medium through which a *bhakta* can reach the realm of god for salvation.

Achyutānanda Dās in *Haribaṁsa* emphatically discussed the importance of hearing *bhāgavata* and *Harikathā* which frees human being from sin and vices.[23] He also stressed on this stage in *Manmatha Chandrikā*.

Bipranārāyaṇa Dās in many places *Haribaṁsa* metioned that on hearing *Harikathā* or reading books which describe glories of Hari sin can be destroyed.

Kīrtan

Kīrtan according to *Haribhaktibilāsa* means uttering of Kṛṣṇa's *līlā, bhajana, nāma, guṇa* in loud systematic voice of methodical process. The tuning should-be based on some scientific rules so that rhythm of music is maintained. In *bhakti, Kīrtan* is the assimilation of various songs which is being sung in glorification of Kṛṣṇa. *Bhajana* is another form of Kīrtan in which names of Kṛṣṇa are recited in short form. Originally Kīrtan was a feature of Northern India which gradually pervades into the South. In the north, Jayadeb was the pioneer.

Jagannāth Dās in his *Bhāgavata* described *Kīrtan, bhajana,* reciting of the name of Kṛṣṇa and Hari in songs.[25]

In *Chhadarasabhāgavata,* Jagannāth Dās expressed that *Harikīrtan* is the singing of songs in praise of Hari in different names. In *Chārichoupadi*, the author established the importance of *guru* (preceptor) who knows the symptoms of bhakti and teaches the bhaktas to lead the life in right path.[26]

Balarām Dās, another famous poet of the age, described in *Bhusanda-Kakagītā* the gloriness and greatness of *bhajana* in relation to a *bhakta.*[27]

Achyutānanda Dās, in *Nāmabhajana* or *Nāmakīrtana* described that singing of God's names saves human being from death and sorrow. The works like *Gapakeli* of Narasimha Sena describes the greatness of *bhajana* in which *gopis* became mad by singing Kṛṣṇanāma. Rāmachandra Deb, in one *Śrīkṛṣṇabhajana* expressed the importance of *bhajana*.

Smarana

Smarana is another process by which a *bhakta* can show his *bhakti* to god. In the sixteenth century it is used in thinking of *nāma* of god and reciting of *nāma* of God. In other words it can be stated that every day a *bhakta* recite the name of God at a particular time after regular interval. This means that not-forgetting of the name of god.

The vaiṣṇava poets of Orissa also advocated the idea of *smarana* in propagating their philosophy of vaiṣṇavism. The pioneer in this field was Jagannāth Dās, known as Atibaḍi Jagannāth. The explanation which he gave in almost all the chapter of *Bhāgavata* relates to the relation of devotee with the god, herein Hari. According to him *smarana* helps every one to cross the misery of this world and to reach the region of god—where eternal peace prevails.

Smarana, materially helps to provide a room for the bhaktas who in course of time may forget God. Among the other poets, Dāmodar Dās has put up footprints of Kṛṣṇa which embarassed *gopis.*

Achyutānanda Dās, in almost all his writings described the importance of *dhyāna*, to concentrate mind on thinking of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa.[28] Narasimha Sena in 'Gopalekhan' also stated that thinking deeply of Kṛṣṇa is the principal duty of human being. Singing of Kṛṣṇa's praise is another duty of the Vaiṣṇavas. Rāmachandra Deb in the unpublished manuscript *Nabānuraga* described *dhyāna* of Rādhā's and Rādhāmādhava's lotus-feet which leads to salvation. In Bipranārāyaṇ Dāsa's *Haribamsa*, we have seen that persons believing in Hari should recite the name of Hari. It helps to win all works and save from all danger. It is known as *japa* of *bījamantra*. It is commonly believed that recitation of *bījamantra* purifies the body and mind.

Pādasoban

Besides Ballavāchārya, we have references to *pādasevana* in *Śrīmadbhāgavat*. The interpretation given in the Bhāgavata is that who worships the feet of the God does not fall in any danger. Poets of sixteenth century also believed in (worshipping of) *pādasevana*.

Jagannāth Dās, in almost all chapters of *Bhāgavata* repeatedly mentioned the idea of *pādasevana*. According to him it improves all the defects of material world, bhakta can free himself from worldly desires, illusion is removed. In *Dhrubastuti*, the poet believes in drinking water after washing the feet of Viṣṇu.[29]

Achyutānanda Dās also declared in '*Haribaṁsa*' that human being can be freed from all sins if he surrenders to Hari.[30] In *Dasapatalamālikā* and *Manmathachandrikā* the author states that every person should place *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* in the heart as Hanuman showed Rāma.

Bipranārāyaṇ Dās in his *Haribaṁsa*, an unpublished manuscript, advised every person to concentrate upon thinking of Hari. Other poets like Rāmachandra Deb wrote that he (author) always recollects the name of Śrīkṛṣṇa whenever he starts new things.

Archana

Archana means worshipping of *swarupa* of God with great regard (*sraddhā*). In *Bhāgavatagītā* there is also reference to *archana* which also states the worship of God with *mantra*. It is the way by which human being can reach the realm of heaven (*swarga*). In *Bhāgavata* this idea of leading man to heaven is supported with equal greatness (Bhāgavat – 10th Skanda, 81 Chap, 69 Pada). Accordingly God lives in the heart of the *bhaktas* in the form temple, *bigraha* and *guru*. *Bhaktas* offer most favourite things to god.

The poets of the 16th century like Jagannāth Dās and others specially did not mention *archana* separately.

Bandanā

Bandanā is another form of bhakti in which bhakta respects the elders and worships gods with great modesty, prayer and song of praise.

There are many references to *Bandanā* in the works of sixteenth century poets like Jagannāth and others.

Jagannāth Dās while describing glorification of Kṛṣṇa in *Bhāgavata* said that *Bandanā* was greater than nectar.[31] We have also seen in *Haribaṁsa* of Achyutānanda and Bipranārāyaṇ Dās that *Baruna* is engaged to worship *pada* of Kṛṣṇa. Danāi Dās, a poet of later period also stressed on *padabandanā* for which concentration is essential for human being.[32]

Dāsya

Bhakti is based on *prema* (love) and *prīti* (sound love) which lead bhakta to think God (here Kṛṣṇa) as his or her own. This type of love for Kṛṣṇa is easily found in the literature of the sixteenth century. The *bhakta* thinks that he is for Kṛṣṇa and Kṛṣṇa is for *Bhakta*. The ways by which a devotee loves God are *Dāsya*, *Sakhya* and *Bātsalya*.

In the stage of *dāsya* the devotee regards God as father, mother and master and thinks himself as his servant. Other qualities such as modesty, selflessness come naturally at this stage. The devotee thinks that he is very poor. He always wants to serve the God. Jagannāth Dās, the greatest of the Pañchasakhās described this kind of *bhakti*.[33]

Balarām Dās in his *Chhatisguptagītā* and *Bhābasamudra* had presented the same idea in which the author thought himself as a servant. Rāmachandra Deva in *Saptarāgachoutisa* always expressed him desire to remind *Gobinda*. Chānda Dās in *Gopīchandankāvya* said that he would be servant of the servant of Jagannāth. Achyutānanda Dās also desired to serve *Haricharana* as the servant serves his master.

Sakhya

Sakhya derives from the word *Sakhā* which means *sakhā*, friend and *mitra*. In this stage a sense of friendship prevails among the devotee and his god.

Balarām Dās in his *Bhāvasamudra* has expressed his *bhāva* (idea) about God which focussing the *Sakhya* love of *bhakta* (devotee) for his or her God. In *Haribaṁsa*, Achyutānanda described that *Sunama*, the son of Kaṁsa worshipped Kṛṣṇa as his friend and can be marked as an instance of *Sakhya prema*.[34]

Jagannātha Dās in his *Bhāgavata* while describing *bhakti* of gopas, *bhakti* of Sudāma and cowherd boys mentioned them as *sakhā* of Kṛṣṇa.

Bātsalya

Generally *bātsalya* can be seen in the love of parents towards their wards. Whenever a devotee regards his god as his son or daughter, *bātsalya* occurs, and the *bhakti* prevails is called the *bātsalya bhakti*.

In the literature produced during the period describes *bātsalya bhakti* in plenty. Jagannāth Dās while describing *bālya-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa in the Bhāgavata mentioned *bātsalyarasa*. In the context of *rasibandhana* (ulukhaḍabandhana) the poet describes that the rope by which Kṛṣṇa was tied up is less. Kṛṣṇa himself told Yaṣodā that the rope will suffice and Kṛṣṇa bind himself.[35]

Purusottama Dās while describing Kārtik-dāmodar worship mentioned *bātsalya* of Yasodā. We have also seen that Lord Jagannāth in order to save his devotees were hair on his head as it were hair of Kṛṣṇa during his boyhood in the house of Yasodā and Rāma in the house of Kousalyā. The poet in this context praises *bātsalaya rasa.*

Premabhakti

Premabhakti, highest type of *uttama bhakti*, is really a further ripening of the *bhāvabhakti* itself. *Prema* is but *bhāva* deepened. It is the highest stage of bhakti. It appears sufficiently after the *bhāva* or emotion gets solidified into a sentiment of love (prema). It helps the soul absolutely by the attribute of exclusive and loving attachment for development from *Vaidhi bhakti* or *Rāgānugābhāva*. It can be achieved by the immediate grace of the Lord.

It culminates in complete self-surrender (Ātmanibedan). Whenever a devotee surrenders himself or herself completely and thinks himself or herself as a wife of the God (here is Kṛṣṇa). It is also called *Śrīngārbhakti*. There are two kinds of *ātmanivedana*—(1) *Swakiyā* and (2) *Parakiyā*. *Swakiyā* relates to virginity and marriage of gopis. It is described by all the Vaiṣṇava poets as a greatest way of realisation of God. *Swakiyā bhāva* teaches vaiṣṇavas to love god as his or her own husband. But *parakiyā bhāva* is the reverse of *swakiyā* It is merely a symbol for sacrifice in the cause of realisation of god. *Parakiyā* means love for a person other than husband or wife. The Vaiṣṇava poets such as Jagannāth Dās and others who are influenced by the teaching of Śrīchaitanydev and wrote books on *madhurabhāva*, were not really interested in this aspect of *prema*. Even though Rāi Rāmānanda described the *bhakti tatwa* to Śrīchaitanya at Vijayanagara, was not known to him before. This was new in history of love.

According to Jagannāth Dās every *bhakta* or devotee can get god if he follows any path vigorously. In *Dīkshāsamudra* and *Sevagamabhāgavata* the poet said that *gopībhāva*, *kāntābhāva*, *premabhāva*, *strībhāva* are also means to reach the realm of god.[36]

Balarām Dās in *Chhatisguptagītā* declared that any devotee after entering into the realm of *bhakti* became female.[37]. Rāi Rāmānanda emphasised that *Jugalmilan tatwa* is the best way of getting god.[38] Kānhāi Khuntiā in *Mahābhāvaprakasa* described that Kṛṣṇa surrendered to Rādhā and this stage of love is called *matrubhāva*. This *bhāva* is also known as *gopībhāva* which are the attributes of gopīs.[39]

Kārtik Dās in one of his *bhajans* said that *gopībhāva* is his (poet's) *bhāva*. Although in *Rukminibibhā* he was influenced by the nimbārka sampradāya, written *swakiyā* love yet insisted upon *parakiyā* tatwa.

Yasovanta Dās very often told that various types of *gopībhāva*, *kāntābhāva* and also other aspects of *premabhakti*. In *Banabhojabali*, an unpublished work, he described the mental attribute of *gopis* towards Kṛṣṇa. The poet described that at the time of selling milk the gopis felt Kṛṣṇa everywhere and they sang Hari and Kṛṣṇa in place of Dadhi (curd). Even women of brāhmiṇ families followed them in order to gain Kṛṣṇa *bhakti*. The author himself prayed for meals from the gopis.

Śiśu Ananta was not away from the track of *premabhakti* specially this type of *ātmanibedan*. He in his *Hetu dayabhāgabata* expressed that it is easy to reach the realm of Kṛṣṇa by thinking himself as a *gopanārī* (i.e. woman of gopa, milkman family).

Thereafter we can see that in later age, Śiśu Śankar Dās, in *Usābhilās Kāvya*, while supporting the above view remarked that poetical tendency of the medieval period assimilated with *Rāgānugāhakti*. Narasimha Sena in *Gapalekhana* described devotion of gopis without any sexual intention. During life-time of Śrīchaitanya we can see a few devotees like Mādhabī Dāsī, who was worshipper and promoter of *Suddhābhakti*. Yet she said about *ātmanibedana*. The thought herself as inferior to be a good devotee. Sometimes she prayed to Lord Jagannāth to allow her to *ātmanibedana*.

Purusottama Dās in '*Kāñchikaveri*' described that *Ātmanibedana* may be from both sides—from *bhakta* to Kṛṣṇa (God) and from Kṛṣṇa to *bhakta*. The *bhāva* expressed here is no other than *Ātmanibedana*.[40]

Chānda Kabi in '*Gopichandan Kāvya*' expressed that *gopis* of Dwāraka were initiated in '*premamantra*'.

Rāmachandra Deb in *Nabānurāga* in the episode of Lalita-Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa regards Rādhā as the greatest in *Ujjalarasa*. In Rusāmana the *ātmanibedana* was described from Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa in the disguise of female told Rādhā that his house was in Brindāban, *brata* is *prema* and *bhāva* is *sundari*. In *Bansichori* Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā are so overwhelmed in love for others the change in *rūpa* was natural and *ātmanibedana* became fruitful. In other works of Achyutānanda we have seen that *ātmanivedana* is possible after changing the *rūpa* of *purusa*. It means the stage of *ātmanibedana* comes easily to female. In '*Śunyasamhitā*', the poet has declared *Rādhābhāva* as the greatest. He says that *Rādhā-prema* is also superior to *nabadhā bhakti*. The poet regarded cordially *premabhakti* as the greatest of all and purest of all time.

Bipranārāyaṇa Dās in '*Haribaṁsa*' stated that there is no love that is superior to *gopi-love*.

Kapileswar Dās wrote in '*Kapata Keli*' on *rāgānugā parakiyā bhakti*.

Denai Dās in '*Gopi Bhāsa*' mentioned *swakiyā* instead of *parakiyā*. Here he regarded *gopīprema* as the ideal source. It indicates that the poet was the supporter of *Gopīprema* or *Rādhābhāva*.

Sakhibhāva (Jugalapasana)

In *Premabhakti* we can see two stages of *ātmanibedana* in which *bhakta* surrenders but in *sakhibhāva bhakta* becomes one with the *ārādhya* as it were he/she is the *kāntā* (wife) of the God. Oriya poets during the period have supported this idea in which Rāi Rāmānanda was the pioneer. There were poets like Achyutānanda Dās and Yasovanta Dās who described this idea. Rāi Rāmānanda in his '*Kṛṣṇalīlā*', '*Kṛṣṇajanmalekhan*', '*Dāndabela*' has portraited Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa as a great lover (surrendering himself or herself) of each other. They (Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa) surrender themselves with a new outlook. In '*Kṛṣṇalīlā*' we can also see that the poet describes the *Swakiyā* aspect of *premabhakti.* Because Rādhā is married to Kṛṣṇa by the *gopis.* In *Dānalīlā* the poet describes the *Madhura bhāva* or Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa invited Rādhā to go another place. Rādhā became mad hearing sweet sound of Kṛṣṇa's flute. Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa united to themselves as known as *Rāhāsa.* It indicates the supreme manifestations of *ātmasamarpana.*

Yasovanta Dās in '*Premabhaktibrahmagītā*' *Jugaltatwa, nityarasa,* Śrīkṛṣṇa birth story are described. He said that Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa originated from void. So the *jugaltatwa* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa is *nitya* (permanent) and eternal unbroken. They are regarded as śunya-brahma. When *jugal-prema-rasa* became prominent the poet called it as *premarūpa* which is the greatest in *nabadhā-bhakti.* Kṛṣṇa once said *premabhakti* is the greatest. Kṛṣṇa is assimilated in Rādhā in such a way that we cannot distinguish Kṛṣṇa.[41] The poet has named this place of *nitya-milan* as *jugal milan,* as *Purusottama Kshetra* where only sakhis (female friend) are accussible to Kṛṣṇa-prema. In this way Yasovanta Dās in *Prema-bhaktibrahmagītā* expressed *yugabhāva.*

Achyutānanda Dās has also stressed upon the necessity of *nārī-bhāva* (thinking himself as a bride of god) for getting god for the *bhaktas.* In '*Śunyasamhitā*' we have also seen that Rādhā is regarded as *yugalamurti.* Kṛṣṇa himself says that he does not leave Rādhā for a moment.[42] Like Yasovanta Dās, Achyutānanda Dās also remarked that *yugal bhāva* has more value than the *nabadhā bhakti.* In '*Śunyasamhitā*' we can see that Kṛṣṇa once showed his queen the picture of Rādhā in his heart. But the queen could not see the picture because the queen having not such pure visions (Rājasika). The poet compared Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa as two parts of one fruit.[43]

Yasovanta Dās in Rāsa described *jība* and *paramātmā* as the *jugala-murti* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa.[44]

Jagannāth Dās also in *Dikshāsambāda* has said that Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa is *nitya* and from that *jugal-nṛtya* whole world is moving.[45]

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1. Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita—translated by Sir J. N. Sarkar, Chapter 11.6.
2. Achyutānanda Dās, Śunyasamhitā, Chapter 27.

Abhisāpa dei mo bamsa nāsi /
Krodha bahi Astabakra tapaswi //

3. Ibid., Chapter 27.
4. Ibid., Chapter 10.

(i) Āmbha kalā puni yāi nadiā dwipare /
Chaitanya rupare prakas hoibu ye ṭhāre //
See also, S. S. Chap. 6.

(ii) Boudha rupe mahodadhi kule /
bhoga bilasibu tu setebele //

(iii) Bouddha rupaku age dharibe /
Srihari bouddha rupe abatari kete bhoga bilasibe //
S, S. Chap. 30.

5. Jagannāth Dās, Dārubrahmagītā.

Sastha dibasa antarena /
pāda ye pāni hela kshina //
Bouddha rupa heba pāin /
pāda pāni chhāḍile tāhim //

6. (Jagannāth Dās) Deulatolā (Danai Dāsh)

Samudre melina diya prabhu devarājā /
Kaliyuge paibe se darubrahmapujā //

7. Iśwara Dās, Śrīchaitanyabhāgavatā, Chapter III.
8. Ibid., Chapter XLVI.

Bolanti Prabhu Bhagabāna /
Bouddha rupa mo Chaitanya //
Tānka charne seva kara /
Bhaktira pathaku āchara //

9. Nirakār Dās, Jhumara Samhitā, Chapter XXII, also see, Achyutānanda Dās, Gurubhakti gitā, Chapter III, 2.
10. Saptāṇgayogasāratikā, p. 2.

Yamaku uhāḍa mote se jñāna kabiba /
achetana pinḍaku chetanā kariba //
alekha niranjanaku chintiba kemante /
ye dehaku gheniorani rahiba yemante //

11. Ibid., p. 3.

Ghatayoga swāmi mote kahiba bistāri /

12. Śivaswarodaya, p. 4, Yasobanta Dās.

Swadhistan mularu ankurodita hoi /
Vāstari hājara nāḍi deha madhye rahi //

13. Venicaksunka madhye sthāna trikuta boli tāranama /
See also Gupta Gīiā, Chap. III ; Virāta Gītā, Ch. VI.

14. Tathi upare putāre Brahmarandhra dvāra /
Tila copa praya puta kapāta sethāra //
—Saptānga Yogasāra Tikā, p. 6.

15. Ujāni pabanakunei trikutamadhye bharatuhi Brahma Sānkuli.

16. Brahma kapāta phitāi alekhaku dekha /

* * *

Teveti yamara trāsa nalāgiva tote //

17. Balarām Dās, Saptānga Yogasāra Tikā; See also, Gupta Gītā, Chap. V; Chatisa Gupta Gītā, Chap. IV, for Ultā Sādhanā of the Nātha cult, See Goraksha Vijaya, pp. 115, 116, 145.

18. Balarām Dās, Gupta Gītā, Chap. IV.

Taluka sandhire se yāi /
Padmakesara ye achai //

19. Achyutānanda Dās, Chayālīsa Patala, Patala No. 21; Balarām Dās, Virāta Gītā, Chap. IV.

20. Divākar Dāsh, Jagannāth Charitāmrita, Chap. XII.

Vaḍa deula se valoi /
Sahasra daḷa padma sehi //

Also cahan dolare Nīlācholare /
vije dāru Brahma sasra dalāre //

21. Jagannāth Dās, Haribamsa.

Haricharita sudhābānī /
suna samsāra tara prānī //

22. Kārtika Dās, Nabānurāga.

Amruta Kṛṣṇa līlā rasa /
smruti jugale kara grāsa //

yete kahile Hari bānı /
suni sansāru tara prānī //

suna sujane Hari kathā /
Hari nasahe bratyabyāthā //

23. Achyutānanda Dās, Haribamsa.

suna suna jana ehi sudhārasa bānī /
aneka janmara pāpa jiba kshaya suni //
Pada 176.

24. Bipranārāyan Dās, Haribamsa.

25. Jagannāth Dās, Bhāgavata.

Śrıhari charana pankaja /
sujane mana dei bhaja //

ye yathā bachane uchchāre /
Viṣṇu māyāru yānti tari //

26. Jagannāth Dās, Chārichoupadi.

Sādhujane gurunka bhaja /
nāma rupe guru bija, bhajane heja //

27. Balarām Dās, Bhusandakākagita.

kalpa brikse āmbhe thāu /
bhajana karu rāu rāu //

rāu bhajane mana dosa /
na jāu mo dwara pāsa //

28. Achyutānanda Dās, Haribamsa.

chitte dhari gobinda devatā kara pujā /
Pada 298.

29. Jagannāth Dās, Dhrubastuti.

Ehiti parama dharma se parama tapa /
yāra dehe nitya lāge viṣṇu padodaka //

30. Achyutānanda Dās, Haribamsa.

se kṛṣṇanka pādapadme nibesi mānasa /
kahai Achyutānanda gīte Haribamsa //

31. Jagannāth Dās, Bhāgavata.

Kṛṣṇamahimā sudhārasa /
kahilā Jagannāth Dāsa //
Skanda 1st.

tāra charane dei chitta /
kahai Dāsa Jagannātha //
Skanda 3rd.

32. Danāi Dāsa, Gopībhāba,

Pādaku samaste bandanti /
se pāda bhabanara pāi /
bata kutare eka muhi //
Pada 50.

33. Jagannāth Dās, Bhāgavata,

(i) Se nārāyaṇa pīda gata /
smarana dāsa Jagannātha //
Skanda 1st.

(ii) Tumbhara tāpa nāsa yau /
smarana pāsa mahābāhu //
Skanda 3rd.

34. Achyutānanda Dās, Haribaṁsa,

Kṛṣṇasange pilā dine padi pāthasātha /
sat jñāna pālachi deki dharma bāta //
Pada 681.

35. Jagannāth Dās, Bhāgavata,

Yasodā ta na dekhi hari /
nija bandhane dayā kari //

takshena douri antila /
Kṛṣṇanka rolāre bāndhila //
Skanda 10.

36. **Jagannāth Dās**, Sevāgamabhāgavata,
ye gopībhābe mote bhaje /
se mora ātmā abhinanje //

thokaye jānanti nārada /
gp/otamla/re, a swāda //
Chapter XIV.

37. Balarām Dās, Chhatisguptagītā.
Purusa pasile stri heuachhi iswaranka ajña /
Chapter XXII.

38. Rāmānanda Rāi, Kṛṣṇalīlā,
Rāi Rāmānanda bole ati harasite /
Rādhākṛṣṇa eka anga sakala dekhite //

39. Kānhāi Khuntiā, Mahābhābaprakāsa,
(i) Bhābarādhā, mahābhāba, gopinka sova—2nd brinta.
(ii) Purbaru sunile tāhe rādhā bhāba rupe /
keshave tyajila tāku paramabrahmarupe //
2nd brinta.

40. Purusottama Dās, Kāñchi Kāveri.
(i) Nirekhi rupaku tāra anai nayane /
dwāpara yuga rādhikā gopī pare mane //

madhura dadhibikā nikunja banakeli /
se parilā manare rupaku dekhi kari //
Pada 367, 368.

(ii) Rāmānanda Rāi, Kṛṣṇalilā.
Jānilena Rādhāthākurānī mili nagar kahne /
chaksu meli chāhilena Kṛṣṇera badane //

Kṛṣṇa Rādhārūpa dekhi ānanda hoila /
Rāi Rāmānanda bole milana hoila // p. 6.

41. Yasovanta Dās, Premabhaktibrahmagītā.
Rādhānka ange gopya hoi /
Śrīkṛṣṇa anga na disai //
Chapter III, Pada 54.

42. Achyutānanda **Das**, Śunyasamhitā,
Kshane muin na chhādai Rādhikānka anga / p. 63.

43. Ibid.
eka falá beni fāla Rādhā Kṛṣṇa anga /
tile bhinna bhinna nāhi nīra kshira sanga //
Chapter 10.

44. Yasovanta Dās, Rāsa,
Kṛṣṇa se mula Rādhā bṛksa jāna /
yanta se debe dala tini guna //
Pada 533.

45. Jagannāth Dās, Dīkshāsamudra,
Śrī Rādhākṛṣṇa nitya khanda /
yugale prachale brahmānda //
Chapter 15, Pada 111.

Chapter Eight

GOUḌIYA (BENGAL) VAIṢṆAVISM AND ŚRĪCHAITANYADEVA

PREMABHAKTI—PARAMĀTMĀ—ŚRĪKṚṢṆABHAKTI AND PRĪTI

We can see during the reign of Pāla dynasty in Bengal that folk-songs, chhaḍā, nātayātrā related to Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa love and entered into the folk literature of Bengal through the language of apavransa. *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan* was the pioneer among this type of love-poems but it is not free from the literary influence of Gītagobinda in idea, language and technique. The literary contribution made by Chaṇḍidās and Vidyāpati has prepared the ground and made it easier to Śrīchaitanyadeva to preach his religion of love and devotion.

We have described vividly the chaotic social condition of Bengal prior to the birth of Śrīchaitanyadeva. Śrīchaitanyadeva felt deeply a need of sensuous element in the minds of Bengal which are beyond any sort of worldly pleasure and tried to place it above all other religious beliefs. Excluding the worldly theories like argument, custom, function, he wanted to place Vaiṣṇavism in a new form as religion of love and religion of *bhakti*. His life and advice formed a group which was afterwards known as Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava school. His divine life and teaching had filled in with new hope and light that has left behind an indelible greatness for all time to come.

His birth in a family famous for learning for generation shaped in the traditional culture, where a high level of general education universally accepted, was an important formative influence on him. This and his inborn genius contributed to his unrivalled scholarship. His personal magnetism was indeed extraordinary. He was the most loving of all the saints. He weaved from worldly ambitious hundreds of people of high political position such as Rūpa and Sanātana, Rāmānanda Rāi, Raghunāth Dās and Pratāparudradeva and the wicked criminals like Jagāī and Mādhāi. Love and spiritual consolation streamed from his heart purifying all who came in contact with Him. He was a spiritual healer of suffering humanity. His spiritual promises and consolation to Subuddhi Rāy and the means expiation of his sins at the tragic moment when the latter had worried himself into hopeless misery, are shining examples of his broad sympathy. The divine and loving quality of his nature, the inherent goodness which so greatly endeared Him to His numerous followers are some of his remarkable qualities. His mystical sensitiveness, his devout imagination and above all, the devotional ecstasy by means of which He impressed all and which acted as a soothing remedy to rampant atheism, are the outstanding qualities that contributed to his remarkable success and made him an arresting personality.

If any one desires to realise the existence of God he should feel in mind the sweet form of God and follow the path of '*rasamadhurabhāva*'. In the *Chaitanya-charitāmrita* we can see that Śrīchaitanyadev was partly influenced by the poems of Chaṇḍidās, Vidyāpati which is testified from the conversation between Rāmānanda Rāi and Chaitanyadev :

> "Chaṇḍidās Vidyāpati Rāyera nātakagīti
> Karṇānanda Śrīgītagobinda /
> Swarupa Rāmānanda sane Mahāpravu ratridine
> gāyasune parama ānanda //

During his lifetime the poems written on Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa love were influenced by those *padāvali*.

Sixteenth century is virtually a golden age of Bengali literature. The biographical literature which came forth first into the limelight was centred round the life of Śrīchaitanyadev. The biographies were not away or separated from the religious atmosphere as such we do not find any desired variety. The religious current that flowed in literary field was incomparable and unseen in the history of Bengal. We can find in those days that almost all villages in Bengal were proud of singing the *saṅkīrtan Kṛṣṇa-līlā* and *Gourāngalīlā*. People felt greatness hearing the *saṅkīrtan*. Simultaneously people have learnt new light by preaching the ideals of Chaitanyadev through the followers. Śrīchaitanyadev established all human being in its own original place. He once told Sanātan Goswami that every person is servant to Kṛṣṇa "Jīver swarūpa hay Krishner nityadas". The person who serves Kṛṣṇa wholeheartedly is great and fortunate. God does not consider caste, education, wealth ; he is only fond of bhakti. Chaitanyadev told Rāmānanda,

> "Kibā bipra, kibā nyāsi, sudra keve naya /
> Yei Kṛṣṇa tattwa-bettā sei guru hay //
> —Śrī Ch. Ch., Madhyalīlā, Chap. 8.

It is not his manifesto of preaching religion, rather the flood of love he brought for the abolishing of the tiny limits of caste. In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*, we have seen that Muslim Haridās was treated as a great *bhakta* as *Prahlād* of *pouranic* age.[1] Brindāban Dās also has praised Haridās. Goudiya (Bengal) Vaiṣṇavism, after the advent of Śrīchaitanya took a new turn and shape. *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāj is the vital source where we can get a number of explanatory symptoms of a true vaiṣṇava. If we analyse these ideas we can visualize that self-

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sacrifice for others and kindness to all are the basis of Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇavism and its main function is the chanting of the name of Viṣṇu (nāma-sankirtan).

It is a well known fact that Śrīchaitanya preached his new religious philosophy without writing any book. It is also believed that he had composed only eight stanzas (Slokas) in Sanskrit. He did not write any book like other religious leaders pertaining to different religion. The doctrine which he advocated and preached can be realised after proper analysis of the different biographies of him specially the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* of Krishnadās Kavirāj.

In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita*, the author has described the philosophy behind the advent and preaching of Śrīchaitanya. The author says

"Premabhakti sikhāite āpane avatari /
rādhābhāva kānti dui angekar kari //
Śrīkṛṣṇa Chaitanyarupe kaila abatār /
Śrīkṛṣṇachaitanya gosāni resera sadan /
aśes biśese kaila rasa aswādan //
sei dwāre prabartāila kaliyuga dharma /
Chaitanyera dāse jāne eisava marma //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. IV

Astādasa barsa kebal Nīlāchale sthiti /
āpani āchari jībe sikhāila bhakti //
tār madhye chhay batsar bhaktagana sange /
premabhakti prabartāila nṛtya gīta range //
– Śrī Ch. Ch., Madhyalīlā, Chap. I.

Despite above facts there are more authentic information available in the works of poets like Narahari Sarkār, Bāsudeva Ghose, Gobinda Ghose, Mādhaba Ghose, Rāmānanda Basu, Śibānanda Sen, Paramānanda Gupta, Murāri Gupta and Bansibadan Dās who had witnessed *līlā* of Śrīchaitanya.

In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* (Antyalīlā) Chapter 20, we can see the interpretation of eight slokas (sikshāstakas) written by Śrīchaitanyadev himself. These slokas bear the testimony of his idea regarding the doctrine of love which he preached as a source of reaching the realm of God (Kṛṣṇa).

If we analyse the essence of these *ślokas* one by one we can visualise that these eight *ślokas* are eight directions of vaiṣṇava theology. The master emphasised *nāma-sankīrtan* which according to him gives birth to love for god (Kṛṣṇaprema) and realisation. When one recites *Kṛṣṇanāma* his sorrow and despair disappear. In the second the master told Swarupa Dāmodar and Rāmānanda that to preach *Kṛṣṇanāma* without any distinction of caste, creed, time and place. He says that every creature is the creation of God, should be honoured as Kṛṣṇa or place of Kṛṣṇa. He wanted only *suddhābhakti*[2] and not man, money and other things. The master expressed to be a permanent servant of Kṛṣṇa[3] in exchange of love (prema). Man is the servant of God, who is free from all bindings and illusions. According to him God is *prāṇanātha* (his own) and not of others. The essence of his doctrine enunciated in *Śikshāstaka* (eight slokas) had been described vividly in *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* by Kavirāj Goswāmī in the dialogues between the Master and his disciples. In this regard we can say the compromise with the great vedantist, Prakāsānanda Saraswati of Benaras, who later on surrendered to the Master and accepted his idea of *Achintyavedāvedabad*. He also believed him as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa. Paṇḍit Pramathanāth Tarkabhusan in his book *Bānglar Vaiṣṇavadharma* has supported this fact. We know that Jīva Goswāmi has written the book on the basis of Śrīchaitanya's life and preachings which later on was known as Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava philosophy. He has established scientifically the *achintyavedāveda*. According to him *jība* naturally servant of Śrīkṛṣṇa, but due to *māyā jība* has forgotten his identity. Human being as subjected to *Māyā* is different from God. Since God being fundamentally unaltered formed into *jība* then *jība* is also non-different from God. By Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava darsan, we mean philosophical interpretation made by Jīva Goswāmi in his book *Satsandarbha* based on preachings and character of Śrīchaitanya. Jīva Goswāmi upholds the doctrine of *Achintyavedāvedabad* as the relation of *Śaktimān* and the *Śakti*. He rejects all other philosophical interpretations like Śaṅkara-Bhāskara-Nimbārka-Vallabha-Madhva. According to him *jības* are the manifestations of *jībaśakti* of Brahmā and the universe is a transformation of Brahmā's external power. Jīvas and *Jagat* (universe) are essentially identical and *śaktis* (prakash) of Brahmā, so the relation between them is same as the inconceivable relation of *Śaktimat* and *Śakti* which is non-different. The advocates of Bengal disciples of Śrīchaitanya believe that as the *Śakti* and *Śaktimat* are non-different, the inanimate world and the individual souls are non-different from Brahman. Because Brahman is the sole reality, the inanimate world and the individual souls are real as they are the powers of Brahman.

According to Jīva Goswāmi the exact relation between *Śaktimat* (possessor of power) and *S´akti* (the power) cannot be solved with the admittance of difference and non-difference. Actually the relation involves both difference and non-difference. We, however, can say that since *S'akti* cannot be conceived, as absolutely identical with the *S´aktimat*, it is proclaimed to be different from the latter ; and on the other hand, when *śakti* cannot be imagined to be entirely different from the *S´aktimat*, it must be conceived as non-different from the latter. Jīva Goswāmi, on behalf of the Bengal School of Vaiṣṇavism, argues that during the dual existence of *śakti* (power) and *S´aktimat* (possessor of power) on some occasions they are differently conceived. So it can be said that difference and non-difference are simultaneously existent in *S´aktimān* and *S´akti*. Like the burning power of fire and its flame, or like musk and its power of sweet smell, Brahman and *jība* are both different and non-different. The burning power and its flame, like *S´akti* and *S´aktimān* are but two aspects of one and the same thing. They are not separate entities but they are designated as separate due to some difference in their functions. Krishnadās Kavirāj in his *S´rīchaitanya-charitāmrita* has substantiated this idea.[4] The analysis above describes that we can not separate fire and its burning power. There is no difference between them. Wherever fire presents its burning power also exists. We can not contradict its existence. Again the feeling of burning power can't be disagreed. It is difficult to describe how something can be both different and non-different from the identical thing. So the relation between Brahman and *jība* is regarded as inconceivable (*achintya*). On the basis of this proposition we can define *achintya* a cognizable thing which can't be disagreed upon or a thing which reasons can't be defined i.e. although non-different, *S´akti* stays as a different from *S´aktiman* which can not be ignored. In this regard we can cite the explanation given by Rādhāgobinda Nāth in his book Gouḍiya Vaiṣŋava Darśan[5] in which the author explained *achintya* as inexplicable and not unthinkable. It can be defined as the sweetness of sugarcandy. Jīva Goswāmi has accepted the reality of both—difference and non-difference between *S´akti* and *S´aktimat* but the relation of difference and non-difference, according to him, between *S´akti* and *S'aktimat* is logically inexplicable (*achintya*). It is based, on authoritative scripture like *srutarthapath*. It is as distinguished from Śaṅkara's *anīrvachanīyabāda* and *anīrvachyavāda* which does not certify the existence of two. Contradictory qualities of real and unreal in one and the same thing. In *achintya-vedāvedabāda*, the two contradictory attributes of difference and non-difference qualifies the basis or nature of relation between *S´aktiman* (the possessor of power) and his *S'akti* (Power). The word *achintya* in the doctrine of *achintyavedāvedbada* signifies that the scriptural account of the relation between *jība* and the world on the one hand and Brahman on the other is logically inexplicable, for it involves both difference and non-difference between them simultaneously. According to Bengal School of Vaiṣŋavism as the contradictory attributes like difference and non-difference simultaneously characterise the nature of the relation between *S´akti* and *Śaktimān*, the possibility of the co-existence of contradictory attributes in one and the same thing in the same part at the same moment cannot be ignored at all in all cases. The vaiṣŋavas of Bengal have propounded the theory that *S´akti* is natural to and inseparable from the *S'aktimat* by reasoning of the teaching of the scriptures which contain texts in support of both difference (bheda) and non-difference (abheda) between *jība* and *Brahman*. The *achintyavedāvedabāda* is based on much wider principle than that of other forms of *bhedābheda-vāda* propounded earlier. According to this doctrine the individual souls being chit (of the nature of consciousness) are non-different (abhinna) from Brahman, and being possessed of different attributes, they are different (bhinna) from the latter. Brahman is all-pervading, while the *jības* are atomic. Brahman is the creator, Lord of Māyā, while the *jības* are the creation and subject to Māyā. Brahman is omniscient, omnipotent, while the *jības* have little knowledge and their power is limited. The *jības* are parts (aṁsa) of Brahman who is whole (aṁsī). As the *jības* are parts of Brahman the relation between them (part and whole i.e. aṁsa and aṁsī) follows from greater relation that exists between *Śakti* (power) and *Śaktimān* (possessor of power). The Bengal Vaiṣṇavas hold that the phenomenal world, *jības, dhāmans* (supra-mundane residences) and the *parikaras* are *S'aktis* of Brahman. So the relation between them on the one hand and the Brahman on the other is considered as the relation between *S'akti* and *S'aktimat*. *S'akti* is inseparable from *S'aktimat*, which is basis. None can deny the inexplicable relation between them. The *S'aktis* are of three-fold manifestations such as *Swarūpa-śakti*, *Jība-śakti* and the *Māyāśakti*. They are eternally dependent on and inseparable from Brahman. The advocates of Bengal school, on the basis of Bhāgavata, has accepted the theory of transfusion of *S'akti* and *S'aktimat* into each other.[6] Other than *dhāmans* (supra-mundane residences), *parikaras* (eternal associates) and *swarūpas* (intrusic forms) of Brahman are not the different aspects of *Svarūpa-śakti* but they are Brahman transfused with the different aspects of His own *Svarūpa-śakti*. The *jības* and the universe are but Brahman transfused with *Jība-śakti* and *Māyā-śakti*. We have references to the validity of Brāhmaṇas *Māyā-śakti* and *Jība-śaktt* in *Bhāgavatagītā*.[7] The Brahman pervades the entire universe with a single fraction of Himself. *Bhāgavata* describes that Brahman spreads himself in the universe like threads in a piece of cloth.[8] In *S'rīchaitanyacharitāmrita*, Kavirāja Goswāmī believes that although the universe is a transformation of Brahman transfused with *Māyā* yet His *swarūpaśakti* is away from *Māyā* through His inscrutable powers (Īsvaratwa).[9] However, the Bengal vaiṣṇavas regard *swarūpaśakti* as eternally and inseparably related to Brahman and *jībaśakti* and *Māyāśakti* rest on it. According to them Brahman is a manifestation of Kṛṣṇa. The doctrine of *Achintyavedāvedabād* maintains the non-duality of Brahman. They assert that the individual souls and the world on the one hand and Brahman on the other are in fact both different and non-different. On the basis of the religious scriptures, they have supported the non-duality of ultimate reality and simultaneous difference and non-difference of finite souls and inanimate world from Brahman.

To conclude we can hold the view of Jība Goswāmī that the relation between *śakti* and *śaktimat* is one of simultaneous difference and non-difference which is inexplicable (achinya). This doctrine of *achintyavedāvedabād* inexplicable difference in non-difference, an improvement upon earlier forms of Vedānta like absolute non-dualism, qualified non-dualism, dualistic non-dualism, dualism, and pure non-dualism, a synthesis of all true that contained in the above doctrines. Scholars say that it is an original system in which the best thoughts of such great thinkers like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, Madhva, Vallabha and Nimbārka, have found their reconciliation and fulfilment.

Premabhakti

We have seen *Bhaktirasāmṛitasindhu* of Rūpa Goswāmī that *Bhakti* has been broadly divided into four important classes, namely (1) Sāmānya bhakti, (2) Sādhana Bhakti, (3) Bhāva Bhakti and (4) Premabhakti. Although we are not concerned here about the first three types of Bhakti as propounded by Rūpa Goswāmī yet it would be useful for study to describe the thoughts contained in it. Of these, the first means religious devotion for God in general; the second implies devotion which is attainable through special effort; the third signifies devotion resulting from spontaneous inward feeling; the fourth implies also devotion which is matured into a sentiment of love.

In ths previous chapter we have discussed the nature of Prema-bhakti as one of the three forms of Uttama Bhakti, the other two being Bhāva Bhakti and Sādhana-Bhakti. According to Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu[10] Uttama Bhakti is harmonious worship and service to Lord Kṛṣṇa and freed from every other desire and away from knowledge, action and similar offer conditions. The word 'uttama' itself signifies its quality. Uttama means the best or the highest stage. Rūpa Goswāmī said that karma (action) and jñāna are not parts (aṅga) of Bhakti. Wordly materials such as wealth etc. cannot be regarded as its instruments (aṅga) because they never produce Bhakti. On the contrary they create difficulties in attaining bhakti. But he regarded vairāgya (renunciation) as a means of Bhakti through enjoyment of mundane objects without any attachment to them but deepens eagerness for Kṛṣṇa. It is called *Yukta-vairāgya*[11] as distinguished from *Phalgu-vairāgya*,[12] and essential for attaining liberation for human birth. Bengal vaiṣṇavas believe that worldly attachment (bhoga) and liberation although inconsistent with, yet neither of them is genuine object of Bhakti. According to them Uttama Bhakti has six effects which are described variously such as (1) removal of sufferings (kleśa) due to sin (pāpa) or seed of sin (pāpa-bīja) rests on desire or illusion (avidyā). (2) Uttama Bhakti confers upon the devotees all kinds of good qualities and happiness. (3) It lessens the blessing and delight of liberation. (4) It proves difficult for attainment. (5) It brings forth a mood of compact happiness which ultimately originates the happiness of attaining Brahman. (6) It keeps Kṛṣṇa under control and attracts Him. We, here, can visualize that power for removing sufferings and bestowing all kinds of happiness upon the devotee are present in Sādhana-bhakti while in Bhābabhakti the idea of liberation and its attainment are described as difficult to achieve. But in the stage of Prema-bhakti the identity with the mode of happiness is higher than the happiness of the realisation of Brahman. It also originates the power of attracting Kṛṣṇa. These two characteristics are present in Premabhakti. If we study the stages of realisation of Uttama-bhakti we see, Bhāva-bhakti is higher than Sādhana-bhakti and Prema-bhakti is the highest of all. If it is so Bhāva-bhakti possesses first four and Prema-bhakti owns all the six characteristics mentioned above. As Premabhakti is the highest type of Uttama-bhakti, it is also further ripening of Bhāva-bhakti which is a matured form of Rāgānugā Sādhana-bhakti. Bhāva bhakti develops independently through the grace of Lord Kṛṣṇa or His devotees. When Bhāva becomes more deepened then Prema appears or it (Bhāva or emotion) develops into a sentiment of love, provides the soul purely smooth (samyan-masrna-svanta) and is crowned by the attribute of loving attachment. It is believed that prema-bhakti as it is directly developed from Bhāva it may either form out of Vaidhi Bhakti or from the Rāgānugā bhāva. It may occur through the immediate grace (prasāda) of Lord or from the knowledge of His greatness (māhatmya jñāna). There are eight successive evolutionary stages of devotional love such as (1) Śraddhā (religious faith), (2) Sādhu-sanga (companionship with pious), (3) Bhajana Kriyā (acts of worship), (4) Anartha-Vivṛtti (removal of unworth objects), (5) Nisṭhā (devotedness), (6) Ruchih (Relish), (7) Āsakti (attachment), (8) Bhāva (emotion) and (9) Preman (love). If we analyse the attributes it would be evident that Śraddhā or religious faith is the first requirement of Prema-bhakti. It is firmly believed that devotion to Kṛṣṇa is the highest duty and if it is performed, no duty remains undischarged.[13]

This devotion to Kṛṣṇa directs the devotee to the company of pious person who are exclusively devoted to Kṛṣṇa. The companionship of holy persons is believed to be vital case for a religious turn of life. Their education, influence impart novel training which ultimately change the thinking of the people who comes in contact with them. The listeners feel the topics of Lord as highly efficacious and convincing and follow the path which the *sādhus* followed. The *Sādhus* follow some practical discipline in life. The devotees have the opportunities of knowing these disciplines from *Sādhusanga*. It is an act of worship (Bhajana-kriyā) which immediately removes all the positive hindrances backed by mis-givings of common life to the growth of bhakti. The gradual development of bhakti after removal of common mundane obstacles śraddhā (religious faith) reaches the stage of Niśtha (fixity). Fixed state of faith gives birth to relish or taste (ruchi) which procreates attachment (Āsakti), and attachment generates Bhāva (emotion). Bhāva after maturity becomes preman (love). So prema-bhakti is the most superior quality of bhāva-bhakti[14] i.e. it is purest form of bhāva deepened through the stages as described above.

Paramātmā

The concept of *paramātmā* is deeply related with the vaiṣṇava theology. The knowledge of *adwaya jñāna tatwa* or Bhagabān is the sumumbonum of the vaiṣṇavas and vaiṣṇava writers of the period under study. He, here Bhagabān (the Kṛṣṇa himself is the adwaya jñāna tatwa) is the highest reality or the absolute of the Absolutes, eternally reveals himself in the fullest manifestations of his *swarūpa-śakti* (internal power or otherwise means antaranga śakti) culminated in Bliss. By displaying Vahiranga śakti (external power) he proves as the cause of orgination, sustention and dissolution of the universe not directly but through the medium of His own partial manifestation—the highest incarnate that is *Paramātmā.*

According to vaiṣṇava theology, *Paramātmā* is the most primoval, the uncaused cause of the creation of the phenomenal world, absolutely self-lumious, devoid of birth growth and decay and is the lord of *Brahmā* and others. He is the Immanent Regulator of and is cognisent of every thing in connection with the *Jīvas* or individual souls. He is eternally present in the heart of all created beings—the effects of his own *māyā-śakti.* But he is not any way affected by *māyā.* In this way He always manifest him in the midst of his own intrinsic selfhood.

Paramātmā puruṣa holds himself three forms at different times. Firstly, as the Immanent Regulator and observer of the totality of Individual souls and phenomenal worlds. He is known as Mahaviṣṇu or *Karunarnabasāyī* by Saṅkarṣaṇa who by way of his īkshana towards *māyā* (i.e. by way of entertaining an idea or thought of creation) created the universe. Secondly, He is the Regulator of the totality of individual souls. He is also source of all souls taken together *Samasti jībantaryāmī puruṣa* or *garbhodakasāyī puruṣa* from whose naval-lotus *Hiraṇyagarbha Brahmā* took his birth. Thirdly, He also called as the Regulator of each individual soul i.e. *byasti-jībantaryāmī* or *kshirodaśāyī puruṣa.* The above threefold manifestations of *adwayajñāna tatwa* is indeed possible for endless manifestation as the *prāṇa vāyu.* Thus it appears that the concept of *paramātmā* is identical with *Bhagabān* and *Brahman* and the distinction is not one of absolute but of identity in the midst of difference. We may express the relation in the idea of *Achintyabhedābedabad* which characterises the whole system of vaiṣṇava philosophy after Śrīchaitanya. The relation is expressed in endless manifestations of one and the same ultimate realfty *Adwaya jñāna tatwa* of *Bhagabān,* Sruti says :

"Ekaṁ santaṁ vahudhā dṛnṛpamānam /
Eke / Baśī sarbabhūtāttarātmā ekaṁ rūpaṁ
Vahudhā yaḥ karoti //"

In *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we can see same clarification regarding *adwayajñān tatwa* which ultimately signifies Kṛṣṇa as the *Paramātmā.*[15] Kavirāja Goswāmī also describes that *adwaya jñana tatwa* takes forms of *Brahmā, Paramātmā* and *Bhagabān.*[16] In his book we can follow the religious lesson of Śrī Chaitanyadev to Sanātana. Śrī Chaitanyadev said Sanātana that *Paramātmā* is one part of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa is ātmā of all ātmās, *sarva abataṅsa.*[17]

In *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we can see that the Master declared his view regarding *paramātmā.* He said that *paramātmā* is a part of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa, according to him, is *ātmā* of *ātmā* or *ātmās,* all pervading *sarvo abataṅsa.* He emphasised that devotees (bhhktas) feel god in different forms i.e. idols (bigraha) which is identical uniform in nature and also in innumerable (ananta) forms (rūpa).

Śrīkṛṣṇabhakti

The place of Śrīkṛṣṇa is Iṣṭadevatā in the goudiya vaiṣṇava philosophy is very great. Kṛṣṇa is equally regarded as almighty and source of all energy. He is attributed with all qualities of god, is the sole *iṣṭadevatā,* and to be worshipped as the sole god. He is not incarnation of Viṣṇu and Brahmā. He is omnipotent, an absolute, unparallel, an idea, *paratatwa.*[18]

He has no second, i.e. *adwaya.* Kṛṣṇa is the god, all incarnated and the cause of all creation.[19] He is source (*adhāra*) of the whole universe, heaven and all incarnated. He is expression of *sat-chit-ānanda*, almighty and *sarvaiswaryaśālī.* He is full of all *rasa.* He is God. He holds the universe. He is greatest of all gods. He is not incarnated. The supremacy of Śrikṛṣṇa cannot be doubted because it is established in the Bhāgavata—which supersedes all other scriptures in respect of authoritativeness. We have seen in other scriptures that he is called Nārāyaṇa.

He is sole god and all the creatures are his servant. Some say that he is *Bāmana*, still other views that he is Viṣṇu incarnated lying in seven-headed snake on the milk-ocean.[20]

Nothing is impossible to Śrīkṛṣṇa. He is the place of all. The whole universe is reflected or stood upon him.[21]

In the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* we have seen that Śrīchaitanyadev while teaching Sanātan spiritualism expressed the essence of Śrīkṛṣṇa. He told Sanātana that "Kṛṣṇa" alias *Brajendranandan* is a subject of *adwaya-jñāna-tatwa.* He is ādi, source of all, *Sarbasī, Kishore, Śekhar, Chidānanda-swarūpa, sarbāśraya* and *sarbeśwara.* He is god and is also known as Gobinda, he is full of all wealth, *sarvaiśarvapūrna* living at *golaka dhāma.*[22] Śrīchaitanyadev further told aanātana that Kṛṣṇa can be brought under control through *jñāna, yoga* and *bhakti*. He had has three-gold expression such as Brahma, Ātmā and Bhagabān.[23] Śrīchaitanyadev (He) also emphasised that Brahma is the similar expression of Kṛṣṇa's bodily beauty. Kṛṣṇa looks like full of light to bhakta as sun looks to ordinary human being. While describing the implications of Brahma to P. Saraswati, *Māyābādi sannyāsins* of Kāśī he regards Brahma as enunciated in Byāsa-sūtra. He placed Brahma as Bhagavata. According to him Brahma is full heart's wealth, full of knowledge, is covered by knowledge of heart (child bibhuti), and called formless (nirākar). Śrīchaitanyadev says that Brahma is God and having a particular form (sabisesa), he has a particular form, here *Syāma,* and *pūrna brahma*, *Satchidānanda*, *Sarbātma*, *Sarbajña* and *nitya*. In him creation and destruction centres round, source of *sthula* and *sukshma jagata* (world) ; he is almighty, greatest, worshipful of all, causes of all causes. He is Brahma, Bhagabān and Kṛṣṇa.[24]

It is also emphasised in the *Śrīchaitanyacharitāmrita* that Kṛṣṇa and Nārāyaṇa are one and identical because Nārāyaṇ as *paramatatwa* sits at *parabyom.* He is the soul (ātmā) of all kinds of *jība* (living animals). The word *Nara* means *jība* and *ayana* means mirror here *āśraya.* Kṛṣṇa is also shelter of all *jība*, so Kṛṣṇa is Nārāyaṇa. Kṛṣṇa being a shelter of all *jība* saves, protects *jības* and becomes Nārāyaṇa.[25]

Kṛṣṇa had has innumerable power. Among these only three are principal. They are *Chitśakii*, *Māyāśakti* and *Jībaśakti*. They are also called *antaranga*, *bahiranga* and *taṭasthā.*

Prīti

We know that *premabhakti* is the highest stage of bhakti which means an act of intense devotion. It signifies fervent love (called here Prīti) towards Bhagabān. It plays an important part as the underlying principle and it is by virtue of such intense devotion alone that God realises the highest pleasure. It is the means by which He is conquered for realisation or emancipation from the material world. If by intense love He is conquered and satisfied he can do anything for His devotees at all times under all circumstances. By this act a devotee can feel in himself not only the highest pleasure of *Bhagabān* but also a feeling of intense supersensuous joy. It is trully and preeminently known as self-realisation i.e. it is a realisation by self (here devotee) of the highest self *Bhagabān* who eternally realises His own bliss potency and thereby makes the *bhaktas* (here in devotees) realise the same supreme pleasure.

The word Prīti in sanskrit is used in two senses. The first one means happiness being a synonym for *Mad*, *pramod*, *harsa*, *ānanda.* The second sense reveals the attribute of fondness or affection synonymous to *bhāva*, *souhṛdra*, and *hārda.* Both the terms imply emotion.

Prīti is further explained as servitude or seva to *Bhagavān.* It is the work to one in which the mind and the different senses of the devotee gets spiritualistic nature, engaged in performing their respective activities directed towards the pleasure of *Bhagavān.* It also creates pleasure to devotee also. The sole object of desire here is servitude to *Bhagavān* and the pleasure we get is called *premānanda.*

According to Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāja Goswāmī Prīti is not mere *sukha* (pleasure). It involves the elements of *Priyatā* (fondness) in addition to *sukha.* According to him *Priyatā* emphasises the selfless disposition to seek the pleasure and welfare of the beloved abandoning one's all pleasure.[26] Thinking of one's own pleasure of impledes to the pleasure of the beloved object.[27] The author has illustrated that narrow personal happiness abolishes as soon as the pleasure of the beloved object emanates.[28] Thus we have seen that happiness involved in Prīti is always present and results from the consciousness of the happiness of the beloved. It is suddha-prīti or genuine love which devoid of all conscious desire for one's personal happiness and consists in the selfless service of the beloved.[29]

In the language of vaiṣṇava Rasa-śāstra this love is called Prīti which is diverted towards God and God alone, involves no personal effect, but flows easilythrough God's grace.[50] It is a special manifestation of the divine *manasānanda* and above all *guṇas.*

REFERENCES

1, Haridās Thākur sākhāra adbhuta charita /
Tin laksha nāma tehon layin apatita //

* * *

Prahlāda samāna tnār gunera taranga /
Yaban tāḍane ynār nāhila bhrubhanga //

Śrī Ch. Ch,, Ādilīla,

2. na dhana na janam na sundarim
kavitam ba jagadisha kamaye /
nirma janmavi janmavisware
bhatad bhaktirahaituke twayi //
Śrī Ch. Ch., Antyalīlā, Chap, 20.

3. Ayi nandatamya kimkaram patitam mam
bisame bhabambudhon /
Krppya taba pāda pankajastpita dhulisadrsam bichintam //
Śrī Ch. Ch., Antyalīlā, Chap. 21.

4. Rādhā purnaśakti Kṛṣṇa purna śaktimān /
dui bastu bheda nāhi sāstra paramān //

mṛgamada tār gandha jaichhe abichcheda /
agni jwālāte yaichhe nāhi kabhu bheda //

rādhā kṛṣṇa aichhe sadā ekai swarūpa /
līlārasa aswādite dhare dui rūpa //

Śrī Ch. Ch., 1-4-84.

5. Rādhāgobinda Nath, Gouḍiya Vaiṣṇava Darśan, Introductory page 141.
6. Parasparānu praveśāt tathānām Puruṣarṣava Bhāgavata : 1122.7.
7. Śrīmadbhāgabatagītā : 10 42.
8. Bhagavata : 10, 15, 35.
9. Śrī Ch, Ch.—P. 2. 22. 31. also see Bhagavata : 1, 11. 39.
10. anyabhitasita—sunyam jnanakarma danavrtam /
anukulyena krsna nasilanam bhaktrauttama //
—Bhaktirasamrtasindhu : 1. 1. 9.

11. Anasaktasya visayan ya tharhamupayunjatah
nirbandhah krsnasambandhe yuktam vairagyamuchyate
—Bhaktirasamrtasindhu : 1. 2. 125.

12. Prapancikataya buddhya harisambandhi vastunah
mumuksubhih parityago vairagyam shalgu kathyate
—Ibid : 1. 2. 126.

13. Śraddhā sabda visvasa kahe sudṛḍha nischaya /
Kṛṣṇe bhakti kaile sarvakarma kṛta haya //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Madhyalila, Chap. 22, pada 62.

14. bhāva bhakti parikara eva
—Śrī Ch. Ch,. 2. 22. 62.

15. (i) Adwaya jñāna tatwa-bastu Kṛṣṇera swarup /
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap, 2, p. 14
(ii) Prabhu kahe bhatta tumi nā kara sansaya /
Swayam bhagaban Kṛṣṇa ei ta nischaya //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., adililā, Chap. 9, p. 161.
(iii) Swayam bhagaban kṛṣṇa, krma paratatwa /
purna jñāna purnānanda parama mahatwa //
—Śrī Ch. Ch,, Chap. 2, p. 11.

16. Adwaya jñāna tatwa-bastu Kṛṣṇera Swarūp /
Brahma ātmā bhagabān tin tar rūpa //
—Śrī Ch, Ch., Chap. 3, p. 14.

17. Paramātmā jihon tihon Kṛṣṇa eka ansa /
ātmāra ātmā haya Kṛṣṇa swayam abatansa //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Mādhyalīlā, Chap, 20. p, 261.

18. (i) Swayaṁ bhagabān Kṛṣṇa paratatwa /
Purna bhaba purnananda parama mahatwa //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap, 2, p. 11.
(ii) Prabhu kahe bhatta tumi na kara sansaya /
Swayaṁ bhagabān Kṛṣṇa ei ta nischaya //
—Śri Ch, Ch., Madhyalīlā, Chap. 9, p. 61.
(iii) Adwaya jñāna tatwabastu Kṛṣṇera swarūpa /
Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 2, p, 14.

19. Iśwara parama Kṛṣṇa swayaṁ bhagabān /
Sarva abatare aarba kārana pradhān //
Ananta vaikuṇtha ār ananta avatār /
Ananta brahmāṇḍa iha sabār adhār //
—Śrī Ch. Ch. Madhyalīlā, Chap. 8, p. 148.

20. Kehakohe Kṛṣṇa haya sākshāt nārāyaṇ /
Keha kahe Kṛṣṇa haya sākshāt bāman //
Keha kahe kshirodśāyī abatār /
asambhav satya bachana sabār //
—Śrī Ch. Ch. Ādilīlā, Chap. 5, p. 38,

21. Kṛṣṇa eka sarbasraya Kṛṣṇa sarbanām /
Kṛṣṇera sarire sarba biswera bisrām //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 3, p. 14.

22. Kṛṣṇera swarūpa bichar suna Sanātan /
adways jñānatatwa bastu brajendranandan //

* * *

Chidānaada deha sarbaśraya sarbeśwar //
Swayaṁ bhagabān Kṛṣṇa gobinda purnam /
Sarbeaśwaryapurna jar golaka nitya dhām //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Madhyalīlā, Chap. 20, p. 261.

23. Jñāna yoga bhakti tin sadhanera base /
Brahma ātmā bhagabān tribidha prakāse //
—Śrī Ch. Ch, Madhyalīlā, Chap. 20, p. 261.

24. (i) Brahma sabde mukhya hahe bhagabān /
Chidaiśwarya paripurna anurdha samān //
tānhār bibhuti deha sava chidākār /
chidbibhuti āchchhādiyā kahe nirākār //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 7, p. 49.

(ii) taba śāstre kahe sehe akai īśwara /
sarbaiśwaryapurna tīnha śyāma kalebar //
Sachchidānanda deha purna-brahma swarūpa /
Sarbātmā sarbajña nitya sarbadiswarūpa //
Sristi sthiti pralaya tānhā haite haya /
Sthula suksma jagatera tinho samāsraya //
Sarbaśrestha sarbāradhya kāranera kārana /
tānr bhaktaye haya jibera sansāra tārana //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Madhyalīlā, Chap. 18, p. 243.

25. Prithwi yaichhe ghatakulera kārana aśraya /
jībera nidāna tumi tumi sarbeśraya //
nara sabde kahe sarba jībera nichaya /
ayaṇa sabdate kahe tāhāra aśraya //
ataeba tumi hao mula nārāyaṇ /
—Śrī Ch. Ch.

26. Prīti-viṣayānande tadāśrayananda /
tāha nāhi nija-sukha-bāñchara sambandha //
nirupādhī prema yāhā, tāhā ei rīti /
priti-visayasukha aśrayera priti //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 4, pp. 199-200.

27. nija-premānanda kṛṣṇa-sevānanda bādhe /
se ānandera prati bhaktera haya mahākrodhe //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 4, p. 201.

28. Gopīgana karen yabe Kṛṣṇa daraśana /
sukha-bāñchha nāhi, suka haya kotiguna //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 4, p, 156.

29. ataeva gopīganera nāhi kāma gandha /
Kṛṣṇa-sukha lāgī mātra, Kṛṣṇa se sambandha //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādīlīlā, Chap. 4, p. 172,
ātma-sukha-dukhe gopira nāhika vicāra /
Kṛṣṇa-suka-hetu kare sava vyāvahāra //
—Śrī Ch. Ch., Ādilīlā, Chap. 4, p. 174.

30. Kṛṣṇendriyaprīti bāñchha dhare prema nāma /
ātmendriyaprīti bāñchhā tāre boli kāma //
—Śrī Ch. Ch.,

Chapter Nine

SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES IN BENGALI AND ORISSAN VAIṢṆAVA LITERATURE

The world of Vaiṣṇava literature of Orissa and Bengal in the sixteenth century had its own individuality and originality. The uncommon personality of Śrīchaitanyadev and his neo-vaiṣṇavism pervaded the mind of the people of Orissa and Bengal.

The vaiṣṇava writers in Bengal and Orissa are virtually poets and they had shown allegiance to the same Master although they were different in thinking and writing. The two schools of vaiṣṇava poets in two provinces produced a number of poems on different topics of religious philosophy. Both the groups of writers have had some common similarities and dissimilarities.

So far as similarities are concerned, we have found that the advocates of both the school of writers have portrayed Śrīchaitanyadev as the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa, who incarnated himself at Nadia for fulfilling his unfulfilled desire.

Apart from the similarity we found there are a few dissimilarities in describing bhakti literature.

Primarily the Utkaliya vaiṣṇava poets of sixteenth century concentrated their thinking towards describing *jñāna-miśrabhakti* and in certain places it was only jñāna. The poets of Bengal vaiṣṇava groups were fundamentally believed in bhakti specially *premabhakti*.

Secondly, besides Kṛṣṇa, Jagannāth is worshipped as another form of Kṛṣṇa incarnated and is described as the synthesis of Buddha-Dharma and Sangha. The Bengali poets accepted Kṛṣṇa as their own and described him identically sovereign. He is God—*Kṛṣṇastu bhagabān swayam.* In Orissan literature Kṛṣṇa is considered as the 1/16th part of *Kalā* of Jagannāth[1] but in Bengal he is known as source of incarnation.

Bengal and Orissan vaiṣṇava poets of the period under study described the *līlā-kshetra* or eternal-playing-ground differently. To Utkaliya poets Nīlāchala is the *nitya-līlā-dhāma* of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa but Bengal poets accepted Bṛndāban as the *nityadhāma* of Śrīkṛṣṇa. The process through which a devotee passes his path towards realisation of God differs from the way the Bengal poets follow. Orissan poets tell about the different process of yoga which is basis of *jnāna* that subsequently leads to *Bhakti*. But the Bengali poets cross the stages not through yoga or *jñāna* but through different stages of love such as purbaraga.. etc. To Utkaliya vaiṣṇava poets *yoga* and *jñāna* is indispensible for reaching the realm of God.

According to them there are also 7 or 8 stages of *sādhanā* for reaching God. In the discussion of these poets we have marked the explanation of *tantra,* void and theory of creation. The most important idea formulated by the Pañchasakhās is the predominance of the concept of Surya. Balarām Dās in his Sāraswata Gītā identifies Surya and Brahma as same. This *Śunya* is regarded as *Śunya Puruṣa*—Supreme Being. Achyutānanda Dās in *S´unyasaṁhita, Nitya-Rāsa* ; Balarām Dās in *Virāta-Gītā,* Chaitanyadās in *Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa* describe the *S´unya Puruṣa* as the Incomprehensible Being who is shapeless, creates the whole universe. Bengal vaiṣṇava poets of this century have no such idea and they described Kṛṣṇa as their own.

Bengal school of vaiṣṇava poets did not explain *yoga* as the background of *bhakti.* There is no basic reference to Mukti. The poems of Bengal vaiṣṇava poets are pointed towards Kṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇa-relation theory is extended to Gourānga.

The most striking difference between the Utkaliya and Bengal vaiṣṇava poets is that the former described Lord Jagannāth as the united symbol of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, but the latter group believes Śrīchaitanya as the assimilated form of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa.

In Bengal poets we have noticed no place of Rāma as the another form of Kṛṣṇa incarnated but in Utkaliya poets regard Rāma and another form of Lord Jagannāth. This conception of Rāma produced a separate tuning of *Saṅkīrtan,* the chanting of name of *istadevata.* The original tuning of Bengal vaiṣṇavas was Hare-Kṛṣṇa, Hare-Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-Kṛṣṇa, Hare-Hare but Orissan poets has change it to Hare-Rāma, Hare-Rāma, Rāma-Rāma, Hare-Hare.

In Bengal vaiṣṇava poets we have references to Rāma but not prominent or equally great than Utkaliya group of vaiṣṇava poets.

The base of Bengal vaiṣṇava poets is the *Rāgānugābhakti* having no relation to salvation. Lastly we can say that Utkaliya vaiṣṇava poets have tried to describe various aspects of life such as *'Guru-Vāda, Piṇḍa-Brahmāṇḍa-vāda* in their writings but Bengal poets of the period have not mentioned this idea.

In fine, we can conclude that Orissan poets were sages of love and Bengal poets are poets of love.

CONCLUSION

The geographical boundaries of Bengal and Orissa are stretched in such a way that religion and literature in both the provinces have influenced each other to a great extent. It so happened that some of the places of both the States being placed under one administration, have come in close contact with each other. The language of both the places comes from a common origin, i.e. Ardha-Māgadhi. As a result of historical influences, common geographical boundaries and linguistic affinities we find a common trend in language, literature, religion, culture and civilization. Due to the existence of *Jagannāth Pitha* at Puri, the people of Bengal used to come to Orissa and due to trade and commerce, the businessmen of Orissa also went to Bengal very frequently. In spite of these reciprocal behaviour, and frequent coming and going of the people of the two States, we find certain fundamental differences in cultural outlook of the people.

The fundamental differences of culture among the people of two provinces continues, which accorded differences in religious thinking and preaching.

After a careful study of Śrīchaitanyadev's life, we have come to conclusion that although he had stayed in Orissa for more than 18 years yet his teachings influenced Orissa and Bengal in different ways. Some of the well-known followers of Orissa accepted *jnāna* and *yoga* as the basic material for the development of Bhakti ; whereas in Bengal, the vaiṣṇavas described the influence of *jñāna* and *yoga*. In spite of Śrīchaitanya's preaching for the eighteen long years, the cult of *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa* was not able to replace the love of Śrījagannātha from the mind of the vaiṣṇavas of Orissa. Because of Śrīchaitanya's influence, they accepted Jagannātha as the symbolic form of the union of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, and *Nīlāchala* as *Nityasthala* or *Baikuntha*. Because of the increasing popularity of Bengal vaiṣṇavism, the Oriya thinkers began to compare different sacred places of Puri like the dusts of *Baḍa deula* and the sacred water of *Sāgara* with that of the raja (dusts) of Bṛndābana and the water of Jamunā respectively.

From our study we have seen that Śrīchaitanya started his preachings from the higher status of society and not from the common man. He tried first to capture the favourite courtiers of Prataparudra, the important persons of Jagannātha temple and through them, he converted Prataparudra, the king of Orissa, as one of his ardent followers. After Prataparudra's conversion to a vaiṣṇava, it was easy for Śrīchaitanya and his followers to spread their cult. But it so happened that during the life time of Śrīchaitanya only some of the important persons of Orissa specially of Puri was converted to Śrīchaitanya's faith. According to references in Śrīchaitanyacharitāmṛta the common people, although attracted towards the popular of *Kīrtan*, could not be converted to Śrīchaitanya's faith. They enjoyed the dance of Śrīchaitanya from a distance.

The natural conclusion of this is that as Śrīchaitanya was always with the big masters of the country, including Prataparudra himself, the common people were afraid of this movement. The other important cause of this is that the important saints of the period like Balarām Dās and Jagannāth Dās remained away at a considerable distance from the Master. This also helped the common people to a great extent and they satisfied their desire with the love of Jagannāth and not Śrīchaitanya. The third important factor is the predominating influence of Jagannāth on the people of Orissa. They were in habit of accepting Jagannāth as the only God of the universe. They could not think of anything other than Jagannāth as their God. Śrīchaitanya's love for Jagannāth helped them to nourish the idea to a great extent.

Because of all these factors the people of Orissa could not come into the flow of Śrīchaitanya's movement in his life time. It is because of this the preachers of later period like Śyāmānanda and Rasikānanda of Chaitanya movement had to start it afresh. This time they started from the small states like Mayurbhanja and Keonjhar etc. As the lords of these small kingdoms were more in close contact with the common people, it was easy for them to influence the people and it so happened that vaiṣṇavism became very popular and almost all the important families of the country were converted into vaiṣṇavism and the name of Śrīchaitanya was accepted as the name of God.

The situation in Bengal was quite different from Orissa. Bengal come under the influence of Muslims much earlier than Orissa. The people of Bengal were under the oppression of the Muslim rule. They were in search of magical power to protect them from this oppression. When the Chaitanyaism started in Bengal, the people accepted it as a saviour. Śrīchaitanya's stay at Puri helped them a lot to nourish this idea. The Bengal vaiṣṇavas found it easy to preach Śrīchaitanya's super-natural powers among the people. As the Bengalees were much more emotional by nature they accepted the stories about Śrīchaitanya as historical fact and accepted Chaitanya as God himself even in his life time.

In spite of these differences between Orissa and Bengal Chaitanya movement has helped a lot to integrate the people of both the places to a great extent. It is because of Chaitanya's movement, it has now become very difficult to dissociate one from the other. Chaitanya is loved by the people of Orissa and Bengal in a similar fashion and is accepted as the saviour of the world, the great Master and Kṛṣṇa himself.

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ERRATA

Page 57 Para 2nd Last line delete "with Kapilendradeva of Orissa".

Page 68 Chapter V Hnading delete "of" after word preachings.

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ABOUT THE BOOK

The tradition of Bhakti Movement in India is very old. Srimadbhagavatagita and Bhagavatapurana popularised it so much that the other religious cults of India like Buddhism and Jainism were subsequently influenced by it and occupied the mind of the people. Prior to sixteenth century, Bhakti movement pervaded all corner of the country and influenced all other religious movements. Like other religious movements it has also produced literatures of various forms and moulded all the people irrespective of their caste, creed and status. Orissa and Bengal were not away from its influence. Vaisnavism was gaining ground in Orissa even before Srichaitany's arrival. It started changing the religious thinking of people so muchthat even in His life time Srichaitanya regarded as the incarnation of Krsna in both Orissa and Bengal. The influence of Srichaitanya was so much on the people of Orissa and Bengal that after His death, His life and teachings were perennial source for writing *Kavyas, puranas* and songs of different forms.

FEW OF CONTENTS :

Origin and development of Vaisnavism upto 16th Century A. D., Socio-religious background of Orissa in the 16th Century A. D.-Political History of Orissa-Religious Leaders and their Relations with the kings and the People-Mathas and their influence.

Chaitanyadev-His influence in Orissa and Bengal.

Followers of Chaitanya in Orissa and impact of his Preachings on Oriya Literature. Orissan Vaisnavism and Srichaitanyadev-Yoga Jnana-Bhakti Premabhakti. Goudiya (Bengal) Vaismavism and Srichaitanyadev-Prema - Bhakti - Paramatma - Srikrsnabhakti and Priti. Etc. Etc.,